

## **1969 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents**

### **League for Socialist Action-YS/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière-LJS**

\*archival items listed for information, in other sections, or on file

#### **1969**

\*1969-01Jan (Undated by Phil C. & John S., Vancouver) “An opportunist flight from Trotskyism” (The Rands-Engler Tendency) (on file)

1969-01Jan4 Minutes of CC Plenum, Jan. 4-5

**1969-01Jan13** Student militants map next stage of struggle

\*1969-Jan13 Antiwar soldiers to mobilize April16

1969-01Jan13 Mass picketing needed; NDP leader pickets

1969-01Jan13 Tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution

\*1969-Jan13 NDP must demand: Break from NATO pact!

1969-01Jan13 Van. Vote: Fiasco for COPE (no substitute for NDP)

1969-01Jan13 Solidarity with Black leaders in Toronto mass rally

\*1969-Jan13- LSA/LSO leadership holds plenary meet

**1969-01Jan27** Photo (LJS) Operation Drink-in (Montreal pub)

\*1969-Jan27 Cops, racial bias exposed at SFU

\*1969-Jan27 NDP Toronto slate? BDO 'Year of City Hall'

\*1969-Jan27 Program of the Prague Club (Czech resistance)

1969-02Feb10 R.D. Note to self: discussion with Art re: LSO-Quebec

1969-02Feb99a (undated) The Facts of the Rosie Douglas Case

1969-02Feb99b Committee in Defense of Rosie Douglas, Toronto

**1969-02Feb10** NATO 'Debate' – Is it for real?

\*1969-Feb10- Antiwar demo set for Apr. 6 (at conference)

1969-02Feb10 'Why we want a French Quebec' -Raymond Lemieux

1969-02Feb10 Unilingualism—Black Power, Quebec style

1969-02Feb10	Unilingualism--Interview Raymond Lemieux
1969-02Feb10	Sit-ins protest racism on Montreal campus (SGWU)
1969-02Feb10	Simon Fraser (U.-BC) 114 defense widening
1969-02Feb10	4 in B.C. (NDP) leadership bid
*1969-02Feb10	Opportunist tendency resigns from League
<b>1969-02Feb24</b>	Que.Socialist youth mark gains (LJS-LSO)
1969-02Feb24	Quebec conference hears Chartrand
*1969-Feb24	Edit- SGWU (Concordia-Montreal conflict)
1969-02Feb24	'Policy first' -B.C. NDP Left (Socialist Caucus)
*1969-Feb24-	Socialists in debate with NDP official
*1969-Feb24	Anti-war groups prepare for April 6
1969-03Mar30a	Flyer: What makes capitalism TICK? 7 classes series
<b>1969-03Mar10</b>	Debates at Ont. NDP Council
1969-03Mar10	Blacks, Indians hail Malcolm X (at YS BC memorial)
*1969-Mar10	Viet protest set for Vancouver --April 6 IDP
*1969-Mar10	The issue is Vietnam --what kind of movement?
*1969-Mar10	Alta. NDPers back anti-war march (Edmonton)
*1969-Mar10	Edit- Behind Quebec's revolt --unilingual fight
*1969-Mar10	8-page Vanguard is target of fund drive
*1969-Mar10	Agitator, teacher, historian -- 48 years of press
<b>1969-03Mar24</b>	Unity needed in defense of SFU 114 (students)
*1969-Mar24	US escalates war, may bomb North
*1969-Mar24	Growing attack on Medicare --'vested interests' (on file)
*1969-Mar24	April protests to hit Vietnam war (April 5-6)
1969-03Mar24	Our defense of Cuba (Vanguard 1959-1969)



\*1969-03Mar24      NDP lags behind – parliamentary dogmatism

\*1969-03Mar24      Arab guerrilla program (Palestine Lib. Front) (on file)

**1969-04Apr7**        Photo- Operation McGill- Lemieux & Grey at protest

1969-04Apr7        NATO, NORAD bind us to missile scheme

\*1969-Apr7        NDP challenges ABM, then endorses NATO

\*1969-Apr7        Canadian troops train for Vietnam-type wars

\*1969-Apr7        'Friends' of (Vietnam) NLF fail the acid test

1969-04Apr7        B.C. NDP leadership candidates state their platforms

1969-04Apr7        B.C. Socialists assail Douglas- Only 1 month to 8 pages

\*1969-Apr7        Our Quebec Press (La Lutte Ouvrière)

**1969-04Apr21**      Thousands protest war, support GIs

\*1969-Apr21-      A new upsurge in the anti-war movement (edit)

1969-04Apr21      Defense fund to aid SFU 114 (B.C. Students)

1969-04Apr21      Labor fights back (from the Vanguard)

1969-04Apr21      The struggle for a French McGill (Montreal)

\*1969-Apr21      Toronto NDP in bid for all aldermanic posts

1969-05May1a      May Day Rally flyer

1969-05May1b      (back) What does May Day mean this year? Sponsor list

**1969-05May5**      May Day, labor's international holiday (J. Campagna)

1969-05May5      Left campaigns at B.C. NDP meet (Socialist Caucus)

\*1969-May5        Vanguard expands to 8 pages

\*1969-May5        May Day, labor's international holiday

\*1969-May5        Civil rights struggle rocks Ireland— Devlin (file)

\*1969-May5        Vive la Ligue Communiste! (France)

\*1969-May5        NDP's Toronto slate a big step forward

*1969-May5	Demands public ownership of satellite (NDP)
*1969-May5 s	Sentenced for sit-in protesting US submarine
*1969-May5	Demands public ownership of satellite (NDP)
*1969-May5	Canada's foreign policy assailed at Vancouver debate
1969-05May5	Blanco faces jungle prison (Peru)
1969-05May5	<i>The Vanguard</i> : Labor political action
1969-05May5	Abortion bill insufficient (Status of Women brochure)
1969-05May5	Now let's close the cash gap!
1969-05May5	13 sentenced for sit-in protesting US submarine (BC)
*1969-May5	Vanguard Forum- Hoffman & Kidd -'sport racket' (on file)
<b>1969-05May19</b>	Mass anti-labor rally May 31 – Krivine presidency
1969-05May19	Socialist contests French presidency (Alain Krivine)
*1969-May19	The meaning of de Gaulle's defeat (file)
1969-05May19	Cops shoot, kill (Toronto) youth –Disarm the police!
1969-05May19	May Day celebrated in rallies & banquets
1969-05May19	Unionists, professors appeal for aid to arrested (SFU)
*1969-May19	The myth of women's 'inferiority' –Joan Newbigging (file)
1969-05May-	Winnipeg General Strike– 50 Years ago
1969-05May	Myth of woman's 'inferiority' (Newbigging)
*1969-May19	Mandel book review: New insights on economics (on file)
*1969-May19	Socialist contests French presidency (Krivine)
*1969-May19	Rise in world struggle – Dowson May Day speech
1969-05May19	We made it – biggest sum ever! (Socialist press fund)
1969-05May19-	7New insights into economic theory (new Mandel book)
1969-06June12a	Summer School at Camp Poundmaker, June 21-Aug.17
1969-06June12b	(over) 6 classes, various LSA speakers

<b>1969-06Jun2</b>	Quebec NDP eyes provincial politics
*1969-Jun2	Socialist candidate wins wide support in France
*1969-Jun2	(France) League militants leaders in 1968 revolt (on file)
*1969-Jun2-	Revolutionists (F. I.) hold world congress in Paris (on file)
*1969-Jun2	PM keeps wraps on Canada's secret police
*1969-Jun2	Indians (Natives in Canada) fight for their rights (on file)
<b>1969-06Jun16</b>	Socialism is the answer, NDP told- Mel Watkins
1969-06Jun16	Cabaret marks gains of Cuban Revolution (Fair Play)
1969-06Jun16	Tenants find it pays to organize
1969-06Jun16	Behind the 'Invasion' of U.S. professors (J. Riddell)
*1969-Jun16	Interview with Alain Krivine (French presidency) (file)
*1969-Jun16	Vietnam protest set for Aug6-8 (Vancouver)
*1969-Jun16	Ft. Jackson 8 victorious; victory for GI's rights
*1969-Jun16	That NATO troop cut – what it really means
<b>1969-06Jun30</b>	NDP TO POWER! Manitoba says
*1969-Jun30	GIs organizing against the war (Photo GI)
1969-06Jun30	An appeal from Hugo Blanco (Peruvian peasant leader)
1969-06Jun30	Montreal LSO & Edmonton LSA/YS summer classes
1969-06Jun30	Ontario readers invited to weekend socialism classes
1969-06Jun30	Cross-Country with the NDP: Housing crisis is topic
1969-06Jun30	Appeals red-baiting clause (in Oakville UAW local)
1969-06Jun30-	Quebec gov't threatens French school system
*1969-Jun30	Worker and student upsurge in Argentina (file)
*1969-Jun30	Soviet dissidents speak out—oppose Stalin rehab (file)
<b>1969-07July14-</b>	Manitoba shows the way (NDP victory)

*1969-July14	Photo- Trudeau's Indian policy means more of this
1969-07July14	Young Socialists project major campus interventions
1969-07July14	Violence at (la St-Jean) parade shows Quebec tension
1969-07July14	Convention confirms crisis in NDP Youth
1969-07July14	Security report threatens civil rights (John Riddell)
*1969-July14	US conference maps massive anti-war action
*1969-July14	'For an independent socialist Canada' (Waffle doc.)
<b>1969-08Aug11</b>	Roll back anti-labor drive, NDP to power in B.C.!
1969-08Aug11	NDP aims to repeat Manitoba success
1969-08Aug11	Challenge before the Manitoba NDP (wins power)
1969-08Aug11	Vietnamese hail Canadian demonstrations (photo)
*1969-Aug11	Army's anti-labor training—meaning of 'security'
*1969-Aug11	Gov't prepares to allow 4 US bases in Canada
1969-08Aug11	Important document: broad left forms in NDP
1969-08Aug11	US profs control campus studies – sovereignty (issue)
*1969-Aug11	How to end 'Americanization' of culture (RD reply)
*1969-Aug11	The meaning of the (US) Moon landing (on file)
<b>1969-08Aug25</b>	B.C. NDP out to topple Socreds 1969-
*1969-Aug25	Czech appeal call to protest Russian invasion (on file)
*1969-Aug25	Workers' Derry resistance unites all Northern Ireland (file)
1969-08Aug25	Trotskyists given harsh sentences by Greek junta
1969-08Aug25	Where does Trudeau stand now on ABM (missiles)?
1969-08Aug25	5000 hear GI denounce war- NDPer defies PM
*1969-Aug25	Hilda Thomas (NDP) challenges PM's complicity
*1969-Aug25	Canada & the United States – The socialist view

*1969-Aug25	Vancouver Day of Protest: Trudeau & Ultralefts
*1969-Aug25	Biggest anti-war ever held in Ottawa (W16a anti-war)
*1969-Aug25	Leon Trotsky on the struggle for a socialist Canada
1969-09Sept21a	Socialist Caucus steering cttee: towards a 'Manifesto'
1969-09Sept8	BC-NDP strategy fails to shake Socreds (P.Courneyeur)
*1969-Sept8	Edit: Some chickens come home to roost (for NDP)
1969-09Sept8	Pamphlet rehashes reformist views (Morton of NDP)
1969-09Sept8	Sold socialist papers, jailed in Quebec -LLO expands
1969-09Sept8	Quebec Civil rights in danger-'anti-terrorist' campaign
*1969-Sept8	Edit: Some chickens come home to roost (for NDP)
*1969-Sept8	Socialists (expand La Lutte Ouvrière to monthly)
*1969-Sept8	NDP must present a candidate for (Toronto) mayor
*1969-Sept8	Issues facing Toronto NDP (Socialist Caucus)
<b>1969-09Sept22</b>	LSA challenges Toronto mayoralty
1969-09Sept22	Lemieux charged with sedition -- St-Léonard school
*1969-Sept22-	Toronto LSA will contest mayoralty (NDP defaults)
*1969-Sept22	Failure to fill out slate assailed at NDP meet
*1969-Sept22	Where is Schreyer's government heading (editorial)
1969-09Sept22	Worker-student solidarity action ends strikebreaking
1969-09Sept22	The debate on 'industrial democracy'
1969-09Sept22	NDP discusses workers' control
1969-09Sept22	(Former leader) Broadbent's proposals) (vs Mandel)
1969-09Sept22	Debate on 'industrial democracy' by J.Steele
*1969-Sept22	Vietnam: a war of extinction
*1969-Sept22	Ho memorials laud courage of Vietnamese

*1969-Sept22	Troops revolt as casualties soar (trouble for Nixon)
*1969-Sept2	Set plans for Fall offensive against the war (VMC)
*1969-Sept22	Irish maintain their barricades—Home Rule in Bogside (file)
1969-10-99	(found in 1969) On our Toronto women's liberation work
<b>1969-10Oct6</b>	Anti-war protest set for Nov15
*1969-Oct6	U of T to limit dissent- SFU student-faculty strike (on file)
1969-10Oct6	Meetings in Toronto, Vancouver map NDP strategy
1969-10Oct6	Discuss left strategy; Wide support for manifesto
1969-10Oct6	Cooperation of leadership – A continuing left
1969-10Oct6	Women, the press, exclusionism noted at conference
1969-10Oct6-2e	Map socialist strategy for NDP, by D.F.
1969-10Oct6	NDP-labor ties debated in B.C.
*1969-Oct6	No retreat before the redbaiters!
1969-10Oct6	Ottawa NDP to field slate in civic elections (LSA support)
1969-10Oct6	(Toronto) Assembly to fill in civic slate (municipal)
*1969-Oct6	Uof T moves to limit dissent; SFU student-faculty strike (file)
1969-10Oct6	Launch defense of LIS leaders (for French unilingualism)
1969-10Oct6	Lenin: must distinguish nationalism of oppressor
1969-10Oct6	In defence of unilingualism (rightist & CP attacks)
*1969-Oct6	Revolutionists jailed in Bolivia (Guevara ally dies) (file)
<b>1969-10Oct20</b>	Why Montreal exploded (Trudeau's sends army)
*1969-Oct20	Montreal events show instability of system
1969-10Oct20	French-only movement wins support of Quebec unions
*1969-Oct20	Anti-war protests escalate; mobilization Nov15
*1969-Oct20	Canadian in Saigon blasts Vietnam war

*1969-Oct20	SFU strike heads toward showdown (faculty fired) (on file)
1969-10Oct20	U of T crisis defused; SAC accepts report (YS opposes)
1969-10Oct20	LSA nominates Riddell for Toronto mayor
1969-10Oct20	Riddell debates Liberal MP on Quebec
1969-10Oct20	Tenants march for collective bargaining ( <i>story on file</i> )
1969-10Oct20	Does union link help or hurt NDP? (BC leader attacks)
*1969-Oct20	Left spells out program (NDP convention resolutions)
1969-10Oct20	The struggle for women's liberation—its problems
1969-10Oct20	Photo—New Feminists picket Macleans
1969-10Oct20	Struggle for women's liberation (Newbigging)
1969-10Oct20	Male supremacy a rather recent invention
1969-11Nov98a	Toronto Election Campaign circular: Riddell for Mayor
1969-11Nov98b	(back) Help! Leafleting, postering, mailings, speak-outs
1969-11Nov99a	Riddell for Mayor; Stone alderman; Kopyto & Lomas BE
1969-11Nov99b	Program of Action for the 70s: Equal rights in education
<b>1969-11Nov3</b>	Join expanding ranks- protest Viet war
*1969-Nov3	We are the majority says moratorium
*1969-Nov3	Why the US is uptight on Vietnam (book review)
*1969-Nov3	Canadian aid in Vietnam
*1969-Nov3	Who's to lead party posed by NDP debate
1969-11Nov3	LSA's Ottawa mayor; Sask. Elections- New Left debate
1969-11Nov3	Riddell calls for public housing, free fares
*1969-Nov3	SFU 'neutral' -- imposes strikebreaking injunction (on file)
1969-11Nov3	Young Socialists forging ahead (convention)
1969-11Nov3	Demand freedom now for Que. Political Prisoners
1969-11Nov3	Quebec fights for language rights (united front)

*1969-Nov3	(PM) Trudeau rips off the mask in anti-Quebec rage
*1969-Nov3	Canada-US Relations (the socialist viewpoint)
<b>1969-11Nov17</b>	War in Vietnam is (Toronto election) issue
1969-11Nov17	What Riddell as mayor would do on Vietnam
1969-11Nov17	NDP convention opens way, by D.F.
1969-11Nov17	NDP Left Caucus plans conference next year 1969-
*1969-Nov17	NDP isolated from Quebec (endorse Waffle view) (on file)
<b>1969-11Nov</b>	Huge protests shake Quebec (Bill 63) A. Young
*1969-Nov17	Editorial: Challenge facing socialists in the NDP
*1969-Nov17	(LSA) Enters New Zealand election
1969-11Nov17	Trotskyists' role in Quebec actions (for general strike)
1969-11Nov17	(Eight) Young Socialists run for school board
1969-11Nov17	Porter defends Québécois in Ottawa mayoralty bid
1969-11Nov17	Photo—Blanco (Peruvian) peasant leader in jail
1969-11Nov17	Mobilization of the peasants – Blanco
*1969-Nov17	Middle East at the crossroads—Israeli socialists (file)
1969-11Nov17	Protest ban on Mandel – Arab (question) at Forum
1969-12Dec20	Circular to Branches: Defence actions for Palestinians
<b>1969-12Dec</b>	Labor, farmers march for medicare Dec.6
*1969-Dec1	Mass Vietnam protests (Vancouver, Winnipeg)
*1969-Dec1	'I spied for US' – Canadian ICC officer
*1969-Dec1	'Get out now' -UAW leader; French arrests 200
*1969-Dec1	For a labor-socialist alternative at City Hall
*1969-Dec1	Glimpses of Toronto campaign; LSA-YS candidates
1969-12Dec1	Win or lose, we win-- Ottawa LSA mayoralty candidate
1969-12Dec1	The meaning of 'labor to power' – D. Fidler candidate



1969-12Dec1	Left in NDP plans future activity
1969-12Dec1	Defeat of SFU strike shows need for off-campus aid
1969-12Dec1	Students challenge Newfoundland's PM Smallwood
1969-12Dec1	Student strike slated to protest Bill 63
1969-12Dec1	(Quebec) unions to defy law banning marches
<b>1969-12Dec15</b>	Why the Vietnam atrocities
1969-12Dec15	Genocide in US norm in Vietnam Photo: Napalm drop
1969-12Dec15	U.K. Gov't urges Nixon further (British Labour Party)
1969-12Dec15	LSA led campaign for labor gov't – first for Ottawa
1969-12Dec15	Porter (LSA) campaign – Socialist Seminar Jan 3-4
1969-12Dec15-	Big impact for Toronto – 11 candidates for city council
1969-12Dec15	Pickets focus on civic issues: Tax the churches; women
1969-12Dec15	Photo: March for (public) medicare
1969-12Dec15	Left caucus formed in Alta. NDP – U of A teach-in
1969-12Dec15	The 60's – The new rise of world revolution
1969-12Dec15	'A decade of turmoil, of awakening”
1969-99	Flyer: celebrate 48 years of the revolutionary press!

## 1970

*1970-00	Waffle Manifesto "For an Independent Socialist Canada", "Ten Myths of foreign ownership-1971"; "Quebec & Socialists," Prospects for Independence-1972"
<b>1970-01Jan12</b>	Open the books! Cuba—11 years of achievement (file)
01Jan12	Problems facing NDP left revealed at Toronto meet
*1970-Jan	NDP brass screens socialist views (expulsion threats)
*1970-Jan	Quebec workers' ferment reflected at QFL parley (A.Y.)(file)
1970-01Jan	Cross Country with the NDP - Backs religion in schools

Minutes of the Central Committee Plenum, January 4th and 5th, 1969.

Saturday, January 4.      convened: 11:15 a.m.  
Morning session

Chairman : Paquette    Secretary: Bannon (all sessions)

Present: N. Williams, Courtney, Connolly, Moore, Bernard, Paquette, Claude, Bourhis, Kent, Crandall, Bannon, Brock, Maxwell, Mack, Pederson, Saunders, Ruby, Macdonald. Absent with reason Lloyd, Briar, Scott, Hart, Strong, Adair, Absent without reason or reason unknown : Fortier, Swaney. ( This roll call valid for all sessions except the morning session of January 4, for which Bourhis and Claude were absent).

International Report: Report by Connolly. Discussion. Motion: to adopt the line of the document "The New Rise of the World Revolution"-carried unan.

Adjourned 1:00p.m.

Saturday, January 4 - Afternoon session      convened: 2:10 p.m.  
Chairman: Maxwell

Organizational Report Report by Kent. Supplementaey report by Brock. - Agreed to propose that objective of next fund drive be the accumulation of the necessary money to launch the Vanguard into a regular 8 page publication. Also incorporated in the report were proposals of special anti-war discussion held by leading comrades. Motion: to adopt the line of the report - carried unan. Question raised of vacancy created on CC by resignation of Miller. Motion: to fill the vacancy from the list of alternates - carried. Ruby elected.

Adjourned 6:00 p.m .

Sunday, January 5- morning session      convened 10:30 a.m.

Chairman    Courtney

Youth Report: by Pederson. Discussion. ( Noted in course of discussion that the YS/LJS EC plenum requests that the LSA/LSO amend the 1963 convention resolution on League Youth relations to change reference (s) to the youth as an "autonomous organization" to being "organizationally independent", simply a matter of clarification. Moved to adopt the line of the report.- carried unan.

Adjourned: 1:25 p.m.

Sunday, January 5-afternoon session      convened: 2:35 p.m.

Chairman: Moore

Quebec Report : Report by Paquette. Discussion. Agreed that we concur with the motion on LJS organization adopted by the YS/LJS plenum and that the center will provide a subsidy of \$180. per month for the next four months to Montreal branch. Motion to adopt report. Carried unan.

Adjourned: 5:05 p.m.



Vancouver - Found in Jan. 1969

WE ARE NOT GUILTY! STATEMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE 114 ARRESTED DURING  
THE OCCUPATION OF THE SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY  
ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.

Why did several hundred students and other youth take part in the occupation of the SFU administration building last November? Why did the 114 submit to arrest after the RCMP invasion of the campus? Who is the guilty party in this whole struggle? Who is really on trial now, when we are faced with criminal charges against 114 people?

The Social Credit government and its educational system are on trial. The accused 114 have become the accusers! Our cause, the cause of the student movement is entirely justified and the militant action we took during the occupation was just and necessary.

We, along with a great many other students, supported the occupation as a last resort. The student movement presented its four demands to the president of SFU who said we "had a good case". We then presented them to the university Registrar who said he "had no power". The University Senate rejected our demands out-of-hand. Just as workers are forced to resort to strike action to defend their living standards, we resorted to occupying the administration building to force the government to deal with our grievances.

Our demands are clear and simple. The universities should be open and accessible to all who wish to use them. Our actions were legitimate. We are not guilty of any of the charges that the courts and the attorney general have considered laying against us - be they indictable or non-indictable.

We accuse the government! It is anti-labor and anti-student. The educational policy of the Social Credit government gives away the fact that it represents the same vested interests, the corporate elite who control our universities through the Board of Governors. You and your educational system are responsible for the educational crisis that be-sets our schools and universities!

The government is well aware that it is on trial in the case of the 114. The government wants to save face and get rid of the case of the 114 as quickly and quietly as possible. They want us to plead guilty in the courts and thereby justify their police raid on the campus. They want us to justify their "rule of law" and their use of force to resolve the crisis in education.

Guilty of what? The guilt rests on the side of the government. We demand amnesty for the accused 114. Drop all charges! Let the government get down to the real problem of solving the crisis that is mounting throughout the whole educational system.

By its RCMP raid on the campus, the government has served notice that its formula for solving the educational crisis is to crush the student movement - by any means necessary.

OVER -



Our position is firm. We are not guilty. We stand our ground. The student struggle is legitimate and just - not criminal. The struggle to democratize the university and wrest it from big business control is just beginning. The example we set will be one of a principled political defense.

Our victory will not be determined by the verdict itself, but by the defense of the student struggle that the case of the 114 represents.

On the side of the government are the cops, the paddywagons and the courts. On the side of the 114 is the whole student movement and the union movement. There is no doubt in our minds where we must turn for support and for victory in our defense.

We are not guilty. Defend the 114. Drop all charges.

Implement the four demands Now.

Ken Hiebert, Carol Oleniuk, Mike Jones, Dena Blumenthal, Ron Dixon

For information contact: Dena Blumenthal, 2410 S.E. Marine Drive

Phone 327 5359

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ED WONG - "Once Around the Track"

(from The Peak, Wednesday, January 22, 1969)

"With the trial dates set for Feb. 6 & 7, the 114 is now pondering an offer from the prosecuting attorney.

"The deal is that the 114 enter a plea of guilty and in return the charges will be lowered to a misdemeanor.

"Of course, there are advantages and disadvantages.

"On the plus side, the 114, if convicted, will not have a criminal record attached to them for the rest of their lives and will probably be faced with a smaller fine.

"On the other hand, if the 114 accept the deal, it could mean several feathers to the Sacred hat.

"One, the Sacred government will be able to show the public that they were right in laying the charges because the 114 admit to have committed public disturbance.

"Two, the Sacreds will be able to show the public what great people they are in lessening the penalty against the 114.

"Either way, the 114 stand to lose."

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--The above is the first section of the column "Once Around the Track", by Ed Wong which appeared in **THE PEAK**, the student newspaper at Simon Fraser University.--



NOW!

SOCIALIST STUDENTS  
conference dec. 27-29

WITNESS  
U.S. YOUNG  
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FORUM

THE WORKERS  
VANGUARD

Vol. 13, No. 9 (165) January 13, 1969 Toronto — 10 Cents



photo by Mintz

STUDENT ACTIVISTS MEET. A section of the audience attending the Socialist Students Conference. Speaking is John Riddell, Toronto organizer of the League for Socialist Action.

# Student Militants Map Next Stage of Struggle

by Gary Porter

Canada's first Socialist Students Conference, which met in Toronto over the Christmas holidays, marked an historic step forward in the development of a radical student movement.

The conference, initiated by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, was attended by an impressive number of campus activists who have participated in the key student struggles of recent months, ranging from the massive schools occupation movement in Quebec to the sit-in at Simon Fraser University in B.C. There were students from Halifax, Dartmouth, Fredericton and Moncton, from campuses across the prairies, as well as high school students who were in the

leadership of the recent militant demonstration in Toronto against the extension of the school year in Ontario's high schools. In all, there were 150 students from 32 campuses and 12 high schools in eight provinces.

Among the highlights of the conference was a special public meeting on the Friday evening, which centered on the theme of the international significance of the student movement. Featured speaker Kipp Dawson, a national executive member of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance, surveyed the role of students in the great upheavals of the past year — the Vietnamese Tet offensive, the May-June revolt in France, the anti-bureaucratic struggle in Czechoslovakia, and the Mexican movement for democratic liberties — and showed how all these developments presaged greater struggles in the year ahead, as part of the world struggle for socialism.

"1968 was the year of the student . . . the first of many, Comrades!" she exclaimed to applause.

Appropriately, one session of the conference was devoted to a discussion of the Quebec student revolt of last fall, the biggest student action so far in North America. Michel Mill, a leader in the occupation of the science faculty at the Université de Montréal and later candidate of the LJS and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in the Bagot byelection against Quebec Education Minister Cardinal, described the strike movement in which close to 50,000 students participated, and analyzed the future perspectives of the Quebec student struggle.

Mill was highly critical of the

leadership of UGEQ, the Quebec student union, which refused to give province-wide coordination and leadership to the strike in accordance with its theory that all initiative must come "spontaneously" from the ranks and that the role of the student union is confined to one of propaganda.

"They never made a decision!" They never led a thing!" Mill said. "We of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes are not against spontaneity — we just want to organize it!"

Owing to the repression which followed the temporary dissipation of the strike movement, he said, there is a certain inevitable demoralization among many student militants. But he expressed confidence that the next upsurge of the struggle will occur on a higher level politically, and explained that his confidence rested in part on the dynamic growth of the LJS and its increasing ability to promote clear and correct goals for the student movement. The LJS was the only organization to gain from the recent strike movement; and its tremendous growth would be evident at the Quebec socialist student conference scheduled for early February, he said.

The conference also heard a report on the Simon Fraser situation by Ken Hiebert, one of the indicted students. There was strong support for Hiebert's call to build a big defense campaign behind all 114 of the arrested students, who face sentences of up to five years if convicted.

An important part of the conference was the report by Jacquie Henderson, editor of *Young Socialist Forum*. She announced that YSF was changing to a tabloid format, a more action-oriented paper which

(See page 4)



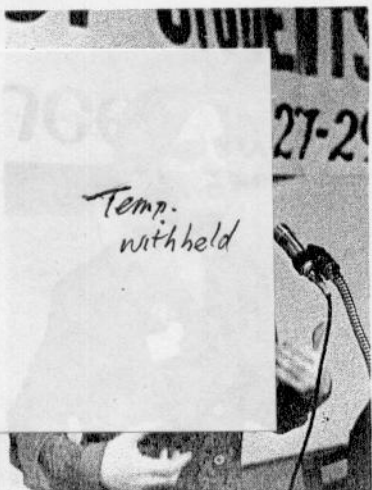
Raymond Lemieux, leader of French-only schools movement in Quebec, addresses the conference.

## MIS Leader Addresses Conference

The leader of Quebec's mass movement for a unilingual French language school system was an interested observer and featured speaker at the Socialist Students Conference.

Raymond Lemieux, leader of the Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire, described how the MIS, which led the successful struggle for French-only schools in St-Léonard, was waging a defensive fight to stave off the death of the French language and culture in its very homeland, Quebec.

He asked English-language socialist students to explain the facts about French Canada's national oppression to English Canadian workers and to assure them that they are not being asked to speak anything but their mother tongue. That is the same right the French Canadians are fighting for in Quebec, he said.



Jacquie Henderson, editor of *Young Socialist Forum*, reports on plans to expand the magazine into a tabloid newspaper.

# ST STUDENTS

## nce dec. 27-29



Photo by Mintz

**PANEL DISCUSSES STUDENT POWER.** From left, Gary Porter, Peter Warrian of CUS, and Bert Keser, prominent high school activist from Toronto.

# Student Parley

(Continued from page 1)

could be circulated on a much broader scale than before. *YSF* would also be coming out monthly.

Other features of the conference included an analysis by Joe Young, chairman of the cross-Canada Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, of the key role of the anti-war movement in radicalizing the international student movement, and the continuing perspective for anti-war actions on Canadian campuses; a panel on student power including Peter Warrian, president of the Canadian Union of Students; and an address by John Riddell on the role of students in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Riddell related the aims of the student power movement to the struggle for socialism and the consequent responsibility of the student vanguard to orient the student movement as a whole to the working class. In this respect, he said, the New Democratic Party had special relevance to the student movement. It could even be said that despite the fact that the student movement had not yet grappled with the problem of political action, the

NDP was in many ways acting as the political expression of the movement. But to win the working class to the revolutionary program, Riddell emphasized, we need a revolutionary party, of which the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière is the precursor.

The socialist students conference was not all discussion and debate. On the Saturday evening, participants "relaxed" at a wild rock party featuring The Riffkin and a light show.

At the conclusion of the conference, Gary Porter, executive secretary of the YS/LJS, summed up the three major activities projected by the conference: (1) to initiate a cross-Canada defense campaign for all the 114 arrested Simon Fraser students; (2) to build the biggest anti-war protest ever on April 6, the next major international demonstration against the Vietnam war; (3) most important, to circulate the new *Young Socialist Forum* as widely as possible on every campus.

In the tradition of socialist conferences for almost a hundred years, the Socialist Students Conference closed with the singing of the Internationale.



**Labor Scene:**

# Mass Picketing Needed

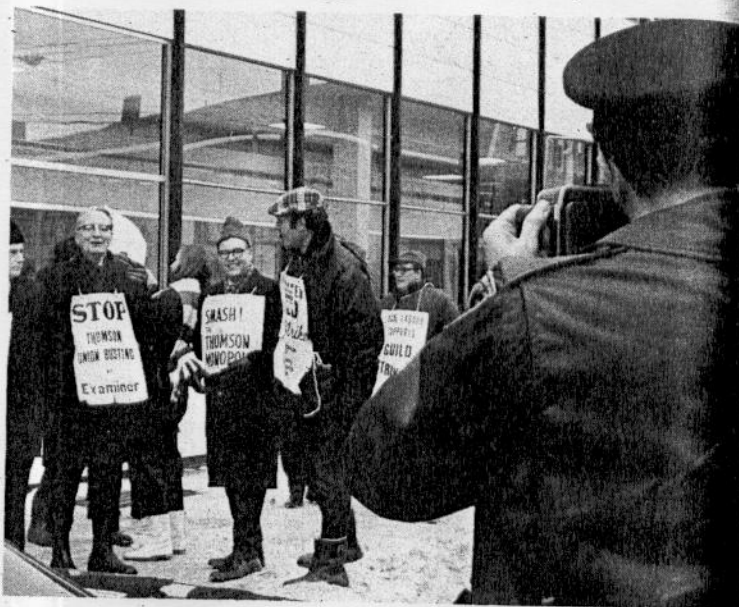
The strike by the Newspaper Guild at the Peterborough *Examiner* involves a handful of reporters and editorial staff, but it has become a focus of Ontario labor struggle. Lord Thomson's vast Canadian newspaper, radio and TV empire has clearly shown its complete unwillingness to allow effective unionization, just as it did in the *Oshawa Times* strike in 1966.

The major difference this time is the further deterioration of the Ontario labor leadership. Although the Guild made a token effort to support its strikers, the first signs of determined support came from a mobilization of students from various Ontario universities. The students and strikers fought the scabs and cops and made the continued operation of the struck paper an increasingly precarious enterprise. Polarization of forces followed; several editors and columnists resigned and joined the strikers and local NDPers began to mobilize support for the strike. The NDP Ontario legislature members repeated their earlier action in Picton at the Proctor Silex strike by leaving the meaningless talkfest at the legislature to appear on the picket line as a group.

The action of the NDP caucus in taking part in the Picton and Peterborough pickets contrasts very favorably with the response of the leadership of the Ontario Federation of Labor. The NDP in both cases has intervened by raising the political issues posed by the strikes and by mobilizing its spokesmen and supporters to speak out and give support.

The first responsibility of the OFL in both cases is to mobilize on the broadest scale to build massive picket lines. The *Oshawa Times* strike was won by exactly those tactics: the injunction was made meaningless by mass defiance on the picket line, and a settlement was quickly reached when the possibility of a walkout in General Motors' Oshawa plants arose.

Peterborough, the scene of the disastrous Tilco strike defeat in which the OFL backed away from the fight by refusing to apply the Oshawa tactics, is surely the place where a decisive victory could be achieved. Yet the OFL bureaucrats have done absolutely nothing that would contribute to winning the strike.



**HARASSMENT.** Cop photographs Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald as he and 14 other New Democratic MPPs marched in support of strikers picketing Peterborough *Examiner* offices. MacDonald later led delegation to police chief to protest intimidation of pickets.

\* \* \* \*

Following a full year of contract negotiations, Ontario Hydro workers are voting on a proposal to wage a rotating strike. This strike could become a key confrontation between the CUPE local and the government, since it will center around the basic right to strike in "essential industries" — a right that was lost without a fight in B.C.

President Kealey Cummings of the 9,500-member local 1000 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees describes the strike as a type of "guerrilla warfare" in which groups of workers would walk out for eight hours at a time in various parts of the province-wide hydro system while simultaneously carrying out a slowdown and refusing overtime elsewhere. It would then be up to management to staff key installations with foremen and supervisors to maintain power.

Actually the rotating strike tactic is a defensive measure designed to harass and pressure management without confronting the public with a major power breakdown. To be fully effective, it must be combined with an all-out campaign to carry the union's case to the rest of the labor movement and the general public.

When the rotating strike tactic was first tried two years ago by the workers at Hydro-Québec, it failed to stave off government threats to pass compulsory arbitration legislation — which is what the Ontario hydro union hopes to avoid. In the Quebec strike, the workers were eventually forced back to work with a contract so unsatisfactory that over half the trades workers in Montreal voted to reject it.

A work to rule and overtime ban in effect since late December have already resulted in a management demand that the union submit to binding arbitration — which was immediately rejected. Hydro bosses, acting as a front for the Ontario government, provoked the strike recommendation by suddenly demanding removal of the existing cost-of-living clause from the agreement, as well as welching on full retroactivity (nine months so far) and rejecting demands for province-wide wage parity.

\* \* \* \*

Members of Stelco's Plate and Strip Mill in Hamilton are demanding that the negotiating committee for Steelworkers Local 1005 call for inclusion of a cost of living wage adjustment in their next contract. This demand was adopted by

Steel's national policy conference last year on the motion of several locals including 1005.

Writing in Local 1005's paper *Steel Shots*, Jake Isbister says:

"The first objective of any union of course is to raise the standard of living of the people it represents. We have managed to raise our standard of living in the past. However in the past few years with the raises in taxes, especially income taxes, it can be proven, for instance, that some people now actually take home less pay than they did before our last round of wage increases. So we have no alternative but to go after a cost of living clause."



# Tenth Anniversary Of Cuban Revolution

TORONTO — The historic tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution was observed in fitting manner by some 150 people here who participated in a gala evening and celebration on Jan. 4. Cuban Consul Humberto Castaneda and his wife welcomed guests upon their arrival to the affair arranged by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

A salute to the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution from Stephen Lewis, NDP MPP for Scarborough West, was read to the gathering by Vernal Olson, past chairman of the committee, along with a solidarity message addressed to the revolutionary people of Cuba from the Fair Play Committee.

Master of ceremonies Dr. Gerald Caplan, Toronto educator and noted opponent of the Smith regime in Rhodesia, introduced an impressive group of performers in the course of the evening. Among them was Jan Carew, Guyanese Canadian author and playwright, who read a special poem composed in celebration of the tenth anniversary. Cedric Smith, presently starring as Che Guevara in Mario Fratti's play of that name, performed from his repertoire of songs. He and a considerable number of the cast came to the social event, following a performance of the play.

"The Cuban revolution marks the beginning of a new epoch, an end to the unchallenged exploitation and oppression of the Americas by the

United States," remarked Hans Modlich, chairman of FPCC. The Cuban revolution has shown the road forward and has demonstrated the tremendous creative energy and determination which can be awakened in a revolutionary people, a fact which even the bourgeoisie has been forced to acknowledge. The chairman expressed the sentiments of all present when he conveyed his profound admiration and continued solidarity with the Cuban people to Mr. Castaneda.

## Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

**MONTREAL.** Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 17 ouest, rue Ontario, Montréal 18, Qué. 849-1727.

**OTTAWA.** League for Socialist Action, 238 Arlington, Ottawa 4, Ont. 234-3130.

**TORONTO.** League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont. 922-6665. Young Socialists, 32 Cecil St., Toronto 2B, Ont. 921-4627.

**HAMILTON.** League for Socialist Action, Box 4324, Station D, Hamilton, Ont.

**EDMONTON.** League for Socialist Action, 10402 - 97 St., Edmonton 15, Alta.

**VANCOUVER.** League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St., Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924. Young Socialists, 511 Carrall St., 682-9332.

# Van. Vote: Fiasco for COPE

by Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER — Big business and real estate interests retained their control of Vancouver City Council in last month's civic elections. The Non-Partisan Association (NPA) defeated both The Electors Action Movement (TEAM) and the Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE).

TEAM, a big business-Liberal party front, failed to win any substantial popular support in spite of the scandalous support it received from some leading figures in the NDP.

The Vancouver Labor Council and several Vancouver union locals backed COPE, a left coalition of "progressive" individuals, trade unionists and ratepayer groups.

COPE's resounding defeat at the polls was a slap in the face for those VLC leaders who resisted and opposed an NDP slate in the civic elections. The only achievement for COPE was the re-election of Alderman Harry Rankin who received 47

percent of the popular vote.

COPE's incumbent School Board member James MacFarlan went down to defeat. His vote declined sharply from 56 percent of the vote in 1966 to 36 percent this election.

The average vote for COPE's aldermanic candidates (exclusive of Rankin) was 14 percent of the popular vote — a poor showing in a city where the NDP vote federally and provincially ranges from 40 to 45 percent of the electorate.

COPE's program called for a variety of reforms, easily acceptable to the big business regime and hardly distinguishable from the proposed reforms of TEAM. COPE did not counterpose working class power at city hall to big business control; rather, it called for the election of "progressives" and friends of labor.

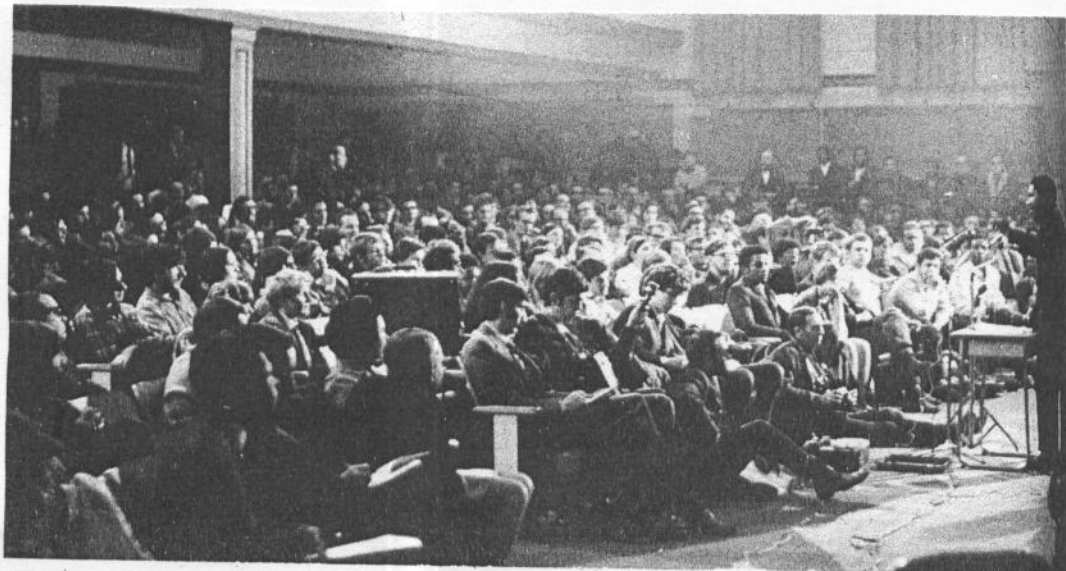
In spite of the obvious fiasco brought on by the COPE brand of non-class, liberal reformist politics, Frank Kennedy (campaign manager for COPE and an officer of the

Vancouver Labor Council) said "the election results were good."

"We must continue . . . broadening our support and emphasizing to the working people that they have the power to reform and transform City Hall if they vote as a class for progressive candidates, including trade unionists," he said.

But independent working class political action is precisely what COPE failed to project. Ald. Rankin pointed to the real problem in his post election victory statement. His formula, however, was to call upon the NDP to join COPE! "The NDP are and should be a logical component of COPE," he declared.

But makeshift committees like COPE are no substitute for the NDP, and still less, vehicles for the NDP's entry into municipal action. The COPE experience only underscores the political bankruptcy of those labor leaders who stand in the way of independent labor political action, which means the building and extension of the labor party, the New Democratic Party.



**SOLIDARITY WITH BLACK LEADERS.** Michigan Black Panther leader Leonard Brown speaks at a rally of 800 in Toronto on Dec. 16. The meeting demanded freedom now for California Panther Huey Newton, recently sentenced to 2 to 15 years in frame-up murder trial, and raised funds for defense of Clifford Watkins, brother of Ted Watkins who was murdered in Stockton, Cal. last spring. Ted Watkins, star with the Hamilton Tiger-Cats football team was founder of Afro-American Progressive Association which sponsored the meeting. Other speakers included Halifax black leader Rocky Jones, novelist J. Carew and Dr. Gustavo Tolentino of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

photo by Mike



photo by M. Richard

**OPERATION DRINK-IN.** Brenda Zannis of the *Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes*, stands at tavern door as she addresses crowd of 50 people, led by women members of the LJS, who invaded Le Gobelet tavern in Montreal to demand end to Quebec law barring women from taverns. Despite resistance of bouncers at the door, the group pushed their way in, aided by men inside, sat down and had a beer. The action drew much publicity in press and TV right across the country.

## Students on Picket Line

by Don Ryan

Students manned the picket lines at the Peterborough *Examiner* in solidarity with the striking editorial and reporting staff on Jan. 16, 17 and 18. About 100 students from the University of Toronto, Waterloo and Carleton, joined by 25 members of the Toronto local of the Printing and Pressmen's union tried unsuccessfully as in past weeks to win the support of members of the International Typographical Union and the Pressmen's Union who have been crossing the picket lines every day during the 2½ month strike.

The strike by the Newspaper Guild against Lord Thomson's paper is now ending its third month, with no sign of a settlement. It has become a test case for labor solidarity in Ontario.

Following the picketing, the students met with strikers in the Peterborough Labor Center, where they discussed worker-student solidarity and viewed the film "Salt of the Earth."

In evaluating the three-day experience, the students were agreed that the support of the Peterborough labor movement was vital if the strike is to be won. So far, such support has been token at best.

The ITU international headquarters has instructed its members at the *Examiner* to cross the picket lines to set the type. But it was precisely this same absence of union solidarity on the part of the other craft unions involved that broke the ITU's strike against the Big Three Toronto dailies in 1964.

As one student put it, "It was hardly an inspiring experience to walk the lines all day in 10° weather knowing that the presses are being operated by workers with union cards in their wallets."



Feb 10/69

what next for the l.j.s. -- main line

contact work: contacting new members, forming clubs, recruiting into the metro assembly, building the metro assembly  
 educational work: educational class in basic trotskyism  
 u.g.e.q. conference: need to get out basic position paper, discussions  
 willingness to pull back in public work to extent necessary  
 finances: campaign for \$200 a month ~~xxxxxx~~ in new pledges

anti-war work

agreed: settle the question now, along lines of ~~ix~~ real internationalism  
 with some difficulty we can ~~xxx~~ carry line--opposition more a  
 reflection of difficulties than political alternative  
 ad-hoc coordinating committee, vqv not necessarily more than us,  
 l.j.s. as main ~~xxxxxxx~~ vehicle in student movement--minimum  
 or if all goes well--u.g.e.q. endorsement, into the labor movement,  
 broad all inclusive action

u.g.e.q. dispute

feeling mike got out on limb, not much substance to dispute, no  
 pressures for mike to continue it. not carry debate--hope u.g.e.q.  
 position paper will stand unchallenged.

the labor party

agreement: need for a publication on the labor party. art proposes:  
 old la lutte general article, plus timely additional article.  
 j.r: proposes: parts of trotsky on labor party plus lengthy introduction  
 or else: selections from morin-chartrand-young debate!

publications

catastrophe of jeune garde--money in for only 600 copies.  
 feeling this represents collapse of movement, lack of any actions--  
 general agreement to continue with 4-page tabloid, which can be  
 likely break-even with 1500 sales, published in rhythm with  
 the student movement but likely every two months.  
 agreement la lutte comes first. jeune garde can respond to  
 emergencies with mimeographed supplements

other points

art concerned about finances, is the movement going bankrupt? what  
 is being sacrificed for the 8 page vanguard.  
 agreed to try to sort out the situation in the youth.  
 art wants more contact with ross. ross should come down to  
 montreal on occasions like this conference, participate directly  
 in the work (and learn at least to understand french, if not  
 to speak it). hopes J.R. will not become "Quebec expert" to  
 the exclusion of Ross.

--didn't discuss campaign.



# The Facts of the ROSIE DOUGLAS Case:

Rosie Douglas is threatened with deportation. If he returns to his native Dominica his life will certainly be in danger. His book, outlining the causes of underdevelopment in Dominica, Chains or Change, has been banned on the island. He has received threats that if he returns he will be killed.

Deportation, however, is only the most brutal example of the "special treatment" which black community leader Douglas has received for more than six years at the hands of the Canadian government and its courts. Such treatment includes his being branded a "risk to national security".

## SIR GEORGE WILLIAMS

For his part in an anti-racist protest at Montreal's Sir George Williams University in early 1969, Douglas was charged with participating in an illegal sit-in (legally termed public mischief). Bail was set at \$14,000 and his passport was confiscated. Convicted on the charge, he was sentenced to two years in prison.

Douglas was among 45 black and 52 white students sitting-in at the university computer centre. They were making the last in a long series of attempts to get the foot-dragging university administration to undertake an investigation into charges of racial discrimination levelled by black students against a white physiology professor. Dropping the casual attitude normally exhibited toward the students' democratic concerns, the administration reacted swiftly and firmly against the protest to establish law and order. 400 armed riot police successfully stormed the computer centre and arrested the 97 unarmed students.

Despite similar charges and common evidence against all 97 students, bail for Douglas, who had no previous legal record, was set far above the \$5,000 average for black students and the \$1000 for whites.

As a result of the court proceedings, only 5 students were imprisoned. Sentences ranged from 6 months for Ann Cools and Leo Barker to 2 years for Douglas and Martin Bracey. Contempt of court citations added 3 years to Bracey's sentence. Small fines or outright acquittal were the results for the other 92 defendants. One of the whites, Don McKay was tried the day before Douglas. He, like Douglas, pleaded not guilty because he felt he had a moral right to support a sit-in against racism. The result: acquittal.

During his trial Rosie faced an all-white jury which included one man who in open court asked to be excused from jury duty because, as he said, he was "not overly fond of black people". The presiding judge told him to take his place in the jury and "serve his country". Somehow the Supreme Court of Canada did not consider this sufficient grounds for granting an appeal.

## THE RESPONSE OF THE MEDIA

With a disregard for the above facts that can only be described as slanderous, the public media have consistently distorted the truth by attempting to associate Douglas' case with the destruction of computers. Computers were damaged during the police attack, but no court has laid blame on any defendants. The same computers have been sold and are functioning at the University of Michigan. Only recently, a press conference held by Douglas at which he announced his intention to sue the Globe and Mail for such libel, produced an article in the Toronto Star which stated: "Roosevelt Douglas, jailed for taking part in the sit-in which sparked a computer smashing spree at Montreal's Sir George Williams University...said yesterday he will fight deportation to his native Dominica." And, "students set fire to the university computer centre towards the end of their occupation. Police then moved in and arrested 97 of them".

## DEPORTATION

For Douglas, the "special treatment" did not end with the high bail and the long sentence. A deportation order against him was issued in November 1972, one month before he would have been in Canada as a landed immigrant for 5 years and out of reach of such an order. (Before acquiring landed immigrant status, he was in Canada for 7 years on a student visa.) Issuance of the order at that time was contrary to legal precedent, since the conviction on which it was based was then before appeal courts. The government got the deportation order in spite of the judge's complaint that he was being pressured.

## A "RISK TO NATIONAL SECURITY"

Tipping the scales even further against Douglas was a special certificate branding him a "risk to national security." Issued in May 1973, the certificate was signed by Solicitor General Warren Allmand and Immigration Minister Robert Andras.

With no supporting evidence for the brand, the certificate arbitrarily prevents Douglas from appealing his deportation on humanitarian grounds. After 17 months in jail, Douglas, now on parole, asked Allmand and Andras to back the certificate with public evidence or withdraw it. Their refusal was the main basis on which the Montreal immigration appeal board upheld Douglas' deportation order in May 1975.

Cutting off humanitarian grounds for appeal against the deportation order is crucially important. Reactionary politicians and police have made threats against Douglas in his Caribbean homeland of Dominica. The Prohibited and Unlawful Societies and Associations Act (Act No. 32, 1974) passed in Dominica is probably the most undemocratic

piece of legislation in the world today. The following section is only an example:

"No proceedings, either criminal or civil, shall be brought or maintained against any person who kills or injures any member of an association or society, designated unlawful, who shall be found at any time of day or night inside a dwelling house."

Canada, a signing member of the 1950 Geneva Convention on Political Refugees, would in fact be creating a refugee by deporting Douglas on clearly political grounds.

#### THE RESPONSE OF BLACK ORGANIZATIONS

Black organizations in Canada have not been ignorant of how Douglas has fared within this country's system of "justice".

At the time of his imprisonment, after 3 months of observation and analysis by penal sociologists, Douglas was routed to a minimum security prison by local penitentiary officials. Solicitor General Allmand overrode this decision and sent Douglas to a medium security institution.

The Black Community Project of Montreal (Cote des Neiges) sought an explanation for this decision from Allmand in October 1973. The minister said his decision was based on Douglas' conviction for arson. The BCPM contacted Douglas' lawyer who informed the minister his statement was incorrect. After some deliberation, Allmand was compelled to make a retraction, admitting there had been an error in his file which would be corrected.

During questioning at the Annual Conference of the National Black Coalition in January 1975, Allmand admitted that he made the decision based on RCMP reports, implying that the unsubstantiated arson "conviction" placed in Douglas' file was a malicious attempt by the police to convince the minister to issue the "risk to national security" certificate.

Why then should Allmand still refuse to withdraw the certificate? He claimed the certificate was issued by two ministers and can only be withdrawn by both. In fact, should one minister withdraw his signature, the certificate becomes null and void.

Allmand's position was even more inexplicable in light of a meeting in his office between himself and Douglas in December 1974. The minister told the NBC conference that Douglas had made substantial and constructive recommendations to his department and to him personally for comprehensive prison reform and social development. What he did not tell the conference was that at the December meeting he had discussed the possibility of having Douglas work for his department, saying then that the certificate could possibly be waived. A witness to the meeting can substantiate this account.

Many black and white organizations in Canada have been receptive to what Douglas has had to say about the growth of racism in Canada, and have come to share many of his views.

At his deportation hearing in Montreal in February of this year, a number of individuals from the Montreal black and white community took the stand to testify in Douglas' defense. Reverend Gabriel of the large Union United Church said: "I had the occasion to hear Douglas speak at the UNIA hall in Montreal in 1969. I can now confess that at the time I disagreed with all that he had to say on the need to fight racism. Today I admit that I was wrong because all the predictions he then made have come to pass. Within my own congregation, I can see the positive influence he has had upon the youth."

Over the course of the past six years, numerous mobilizations in support of Douglas have occurred across Canada and throughout the Caribbean. Thousands of petitions and telegrams have been sent to government ministers.

The situation is daily more urgent. The only thing which prevents the Canadian government from deporting Douglas today is that fact that he is still serving his parole. Time is of the essence and we must act promptly.

COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF ROSIE DOUGLAS,  
P.O. BOX 194, STATION P,  
TORONTO, ONTARIO.



# THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 13, No. 11 (167) February 10, 1969 Toronto — 10 Cents

## NATO 'Debate' - Is it for Real?

by Dick Fidler

Postmaster General Eric Kierans' call for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and NORAD stands out as a lonely voice of dissent in the Trudeau government's current "review" of foreign policy. At an election meeting in Nanaimo last month Kierans expressed his growing demand among Canadians. "Instead of a genuine deterrent against a genuine threat, (NATO) has become a self-justifying deterrent against a non-existent military threat."

But this view meets no echo from his cabinet colleagues. The prime minister, the defense minister and the external affairs minister have all reaffirmed their support of the Atlantic Alliance. And as if to underscore Kierans' isolation within his own party, his fellow Liberals who dominate the Commons' External Affairs Committee rejected NDP leader David Lewis' demand that Kierans be called to testify. Kierans was, they said, no "authority" on NATO. The authorities they did call, including military experts and

top civil servants, many of whom directed Canada's role in NATO for the last 20 years, predictably endorsed continued participation in this nuclear-armed U.S.-dominated military alliance.

Typical of the pro-NATO apologists was military columnist John Gellner. Gellner noted that Canada could save about a billion dollars by withdrawing from NORAD and NATO — an amount equal to Mitchell Sharp's inflated estimate of the annual cost of a comprehensive medicare plan for all Canadians. But he cynically argued that since, whether Canada likes it or not, the U.S. will see to it that it has "defenses" in Canada and over Canada, we (he meant Canadian businessmen) should do everything possible to "benefit" from this relationship. As an example, he cited the Defense Production Sharing Agreements, under which Canada last year sold over \$300 million dollars worth of arms and military hardware to the U.S. for use in Vietnam.

(See page 4)

## ... Phony NATO Debate

(Continued from page 1)

Does Eric Kierans' dissent, then, present a clear alternative to this cynical *realpolitik* of complicity with U.S. imperialism? Apparently not. As he has repeatedly said, he wants to pull Canadian forces out of Europe, all right — and then send them to Vietnam for "peacekeeping"! (Canadian troops are already being trained for counter-insurgency "peacekeeping," if not in Vietnam then elsewhere.) And in any case, Kierans has promised to abide by any government decision to remain in NATO.

Kierans, his cabinet colleagues and the "experts" all agree on the fundamentals — that the interests of the capitalist West must be defended against the encroachments of the rising world revolutionary move-

ment. Their differences are purely tactical, depending on how they see the main arena of confrontation between imperialism and the forces of socialism, and how Canadian intervention can best serve its own and world imperialist interests.

The majority of the Trudeau cabinet favor a continued European "role" for Canada. Defense Minister Cadieux says: "Only in the event of a large measure of success in endeavors toward détente would withdrawal from the military aspects of the European alliance be in Canada's interest." The Czech invasion, he claims, is evidence of Moscow's "aggressive" intentions toward capitalist Western Europe. Kierans, on the other hand, points to the Czech invasion as proof of the predicament of the Soviet bur-



**CANADIAN MILITARY 'ADVISOR.'** Officer in Black Watch instructs Ghanaian soldiers. A few months before this photo was taken, reactionary foreign-trained army officers overthrew Ghana's nationalist leader, Kwame Nkrumah. By training neo-colonial armies, Canada tries to frustrate anti-capitalist liberation movement in the third world.

duce very little in the way of changes in Canada's international or defense policies." But within five years, he predicts, Canada will have adopted a new role based on an "effective increase in the scope for Canadian peacekeeping — including conciliation commissions, larger supervisory forces in problem areas and so forth. . ."

"Such a policy," Matthews observes, "will in no way aim at hurting the interests of the United States. Indeed, I suspect that the U.S. government, which has come to recognize the limitations which its position places on it in certain types of international situations, will increasingly rely upon the sort of special role that a freer agent like Canada can perform."

What this "peacekeeping" role means in practice is shown at the Army's Camp Petawawa, near Ottawa, where the Defense Department has established a mock southeast Asian peasant village. Canadian troops learn here the tactics of counter-guerrilla warfare.

Is the government moving to set up a Canadian version of the Green Berets, to suppress liberation movements around the world? Only the government's policy planners know for sure. But one thing we can be sure of — the current "review" won't produce any new orientation in the Liberal government's political and diplomatic alignments. These remain solidly committed, lock, stock and barrel in the service of U.S. imperialism.

eaucocracy, beset by growing demands for socialist democratization in the workers states. As he said in his Nanaimo speech: "The young Czech, Jan Palach, has done more to upset the balance inside the East than the 10 best NATO divisions." Kierans thinks Canada should intervene more in the "third world," playing a military and political role that the U.S., with its greater investments and discredited by its Vietnam aggression, cannot play.

His argument, if spelled out, would doubtless closely parallel that of Roy Matthews, a Trudeau adviser and director of research for the Canadian-American Committee. Writing in the January, 1969 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Matthews admits that "it seems likely that the present government review will pro-



Interview with Raymond Lemieux

## 'Why We Want a French Quebec'

One hundred years after Confederation, hundreds of thousands of French Canadians must speak a foreign language, English, to obtain a job. Countless surveys detail the rising threats to the survival of the French language, the mother tongue of 83 percent of the Quebec people. Yet the giant English Canadian and American owned corporations which dominate Quebec continue to flaunt their shameful contempt for the cultural and linguistic rights of the working people they exploit. The Union Nationale government and its loyal Liberal "opposition," both solidly committed to collaboration with English-speaking capital interests, are now piloting through the legislature a bill designed to entrench the "acquired rights" of the privileged English minority to ignore the French language in Quebec.

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In the following interview with the Vanguard, MIS president Raymond Lemieux explains the importance of the language issue and how the MIS is mobilizing to fight for a "Québec en français," a French Québec. Lemieux endorsed the recent by-election campaign of the *Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière* and *Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes* against the Quebec minister of education, and was a participant in the Socialist Students Conference in Toronto in December. He was interviewed by Walter Blumenthal, Montreal organizer of the LJS.

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"The percentage of French-speaking people in Quebec is falling, and in 20 years English could well become the majority language in Quebec. We cannot permit such a development. The unilingual French school system chosen in St-Léonard must become the rule in Quebec. . . Quebec must become French-speaking and officially unilingual." — *Election leaflet of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, in Bagot by-election, Dec. 4, 1968.*



Raymond Lemieux

# Unilingualism: Black Power, Quebec Style

(Continued from page 1)

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*The victory in St-Léonard and the MIS's successes in organizing elsewhere represent the first real victories for the Quebec nationalist movement in quite some time. Why do you think this is so?*

Well, it's all relative. Of course these are victories, but if we don't go any further, we really haven't won much. I think one of the reasons for our success is the fact that for the first time it's the common citizens who are being mobilized — not the authorities instituting changes from above. In a sense, the people are taking the power into their own hands.

*What are the social implications of the MIS struggle?*

If we chose to take a stand on the school issue, it's because French Canadians don't control the industrial life of Quebec. But we can control the school commissions.

Nevertheless, the school struggle does have an effect on other areas of concern for the nation. On the job, workers run into the language problem, being forced to work in English. As long as the upper echelons of industry and commerce speak English, the worker cannot advance without being bilingual. So you have to transform the whole structure. McGill graduates who speak only English can't be integrated into Quebec society. Similarly, if a French Canadian succeeds in industry, he succeeds only to the extent that he forgets that he's a French Canadian. As to whether or not the foreign-owned companies could carry on all their operations in French, in the context of the present setup, well, I think it's theoretically possible, but I don't have a definite idea. The other day I was speaking to a director of the Bank of Montreal who's a French Canadian; he thought the switch-over was impossible.

*What do you think of bilingualism?*

Official bilingualism is a temporary phase in the transfer from one language to another. You can't

maintain two official languages on an equal footing — one of the two will always prevail.

*Is Canada a bilingual country?*

No, it is not, has never been, and will never be. That is, except for Quebec. If Confederation were maintained, I think Quebec could very well remain in as a unilingual French province, while the rest of Canada was unilingual English. To ask the people of Edmonton to learn French is ridiculous. If I went to Edmonton I would voluntarily integrate into the community as an English-speaking Canadian.

*What does bilingualism lead to in Quebec?*

Collective suicide, from the standpoint of the French culture. It is French Canadians who become bilingual, not vice versa, because English is of use to them in getting ahead. I don't maintain that French unilingualism will solve all our problems. In the same way, if we were politically independent, that wouldn't settle all the questions in Quebec. But it's certain that bilingualism — contrary to the popular myth — has solved none of them. On the contrary, it's only made things worse. The striking thing about Quebec is that here the French majority is being forced to learn the language of the English minority.

*How do you see the development of your movement, what character should it have and what are its perspectives?*

The MIS is a single-issue movement, outside of the political parties, and that's what it should remain. We should be ready to take radical measures to achieve our aims. Democracy is more than going to vote every four years. At times, direct democracy is necessary. The MIS addresses itself to the population, and after that it's up to the people to go out and get what they want from the government.

On the provincial level the electoral means is not the MIS way. At first, we had no contact with the government — we were working at the base of society, at the weak point in the education system — the local commissions. It was only with Bill 85 (guaranteeing the linguistic privileges of the English minority) that we were forced to confront the government. After our St-Léonard experience, we want to begin again on a local level, but

this is very difficult. Now the MIS exists, and is a national force.

*In your opinion, why is the Quebec government opposed to the establishment of French school unilingualism in Quebec?*

It's a question of where the government finds its electoral funds. In order for the Quebec government to administer, it needs the support of St. James and Bay Streets — who are generally opposed to our program. But if the population is awake, there is no force that can resist it. What I tell people is that you may not be the boss of Domtar or Noranda Mines, but you can be the bosses of the school commission.

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*What do you think of the idea of "acquired rights" of the English minority?*

They were acquired by military force. What we are facing is a situation in which to ensure the "acquired rights" of the English minority, you necessarily threaten the survival of our nation. That's the choice before us.

*Are there any similarities between the national struggle here and that of the Blacks in the USA?*

There are, in that they are trying to organize and control their own community. But there are also differences. The blacks are scattered all over the country, whereas we have our own national state, Quebec, which we can control. We can legislate and apply political solutions to our problems by controlling the government of Quebec. But there is a parallel in the two struggles, and especially in their development. The first stage in the Black struggle was one of integration into the white community, and this corresponds to the stage where the French Canadians desired to be bilingual and integrate into the English community. Both struggles evolved to the point where the Blacks don't want integration, but black power, and the Québécois more and more want to control their own destiny in their own language.

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***Interview with Raymond Lemieux***  
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*(interview by Walter Blumenthal from Workers' Vanguard, February 1969)*

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# Sit-in Protests Racism On Montreal Campus

by Gary Porter

*executive secretary, Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes*

MONTREAL — As a participant in the first night of the student sit-in occupation of Sir George Williams University, which began Wednesday, January 29 and is still going on, I had a good opportunity to discuss the issues with some of the 200 black and white students who are protesting racism in their university.

Nine months ago, several black students protested to the dean of students that physiology professor Perry Anderson was discriminating

black, and that they had evidence to back up their charges.

Eight months later Anderson had been promoted and the black students had heard nothing from the administration about their complaint. Under renewed pressure from the black students a hearing committee of five white professors was set up in December.

Then on Dec. 12 a meeting of the science faculty was called to which white students were invited by phone and black students were not. The black students went anyway and found that the meeting was supposed to dissolve the committee and take punitive measures against the black students. When they succeeded in blocking this move, the angry administrators replied with threats to call the RCMP and have the black students deported from the country.

Professor Marsden, a committee member, resigned but was reinstated by the acting principal who ignored the black students' suggestion for a replacement. At a committee meeting on Jan. 21, Prof. Alan Adamson, committee chairman, threatened to lay charges against the black students if they did not agree to hearing procedures previously

and secretly drawn up. At that point they left and informed the committee by letter that they would not participate in its hearings.

Former Dean of Arts John O'Brien wrote Prof. Anderson, suggesting that he suspend teaching because of the risk of violence. The black students confronted O'Brien in his office and demanded an apology for the racist allegation that they intended any violence. O'Brien first denied the existence of the letter and then of the reference to violence. When the letter was found it did contain the reference and O'Brien wrote out a statement of apology. Prof. Adamson of the hearing committee, who was in O'Brien's office during this discussion, told O'Brien not to sign the statement and that if he did, he (Adamson) would testify that it was obtained under duress. O'Brien has since charged three black students with extortion and kidnapping.

The hearing committee met on Sunday, Jan. 26. The black students did not attend but the committee proceeded without them. When it met again on Wednesday, over a hundred white students joined the black students to block the proceedings. The black students took control of the microphone and explained their position to the 800 student observers. At 6 p.m. they asked everyone who supported them to help them to occupy the vital Computer Center. By 6:10 it was fully occupied.

The occupation is a last resort by the black students and supporters among the white students to force O'Brien to drop the charges against the three black students, and to force the administration to establish a new committee acceptable to the black students. The demand for a new committee has been endorsed by a meeting of 700 Sir George students.



# Simon Fraser 114 Defense Widening

by Jacquie Henderson

Some of the 114 students arrested for their occupation of the Administration building at Simon Fraser University last November have turned their trial into a trial of B.C.'s Social Credit government. "We accuse the government! It is anti-labor and anti-student," reads a statement signed by five of the 114.

This statement, which is being circulated in defense of the 114, demands that all the charges be dropped. It calls upon the government to stop its attack on the student movement and set about solving the real problems of the educational crises.

The statement effectively puts an end to the stalling which has afflicted the defense work for some time, owing to ineffective leadership and repeated attempts to break the defense, most recently by reported prosecution maneuvers to get the students to plead guilty on a reduced charge.

"The government is well aware that it is on trial in the case of the 114," it says. "The government wants to save face and get rid of the case of the 114 as quickly as possible. They want us to plead guilty in the courts and thereby justify their police raid on the campus."

"Guilty of What?" it continues. "The guilt rests on the side of the government. We demand amnesty for the accused 114."

The statement also outlines the reasons for the occupation of the Administration building, comparing the action to labor's strike tactic. After going through all the available channels the students were forced to resort to occupying the administration building to get the government to deal with their grievances. The action of the students was not only justifiable — it was necessary. It was only after the students began their occupation that

SFU President Strand would even discuss the demands with the students.

These demands are, as the statement says, "clear and simple. The universities should be open and accessible to all who wish to use them. Our actions were legitimate. We are not guilty of any of the charges that the courts and the attorney general have considered laying against us — be they indictable or non-indictable."

This appeal lists the two sides in the case. "On the side of the government," it says, "are the cops, the paddywagons and the courts. On the side of the 114 is the whole student movement and the union movement." This determines, in the view of these defendants, how the defense must be carried and who the 114 must turn to for support. They outline how to carry a principled political defense such as the international labor movement has carried many times before.

The Simon Fraser case has become a symbol to many students across Canada: a symbol of how the government and their university administrators "deal" with the educational crises — by attacking the students who are demanding something be done — and of how the students respond to such an attack. Those unjustly attacked, the 114, turn the attack around and direct it at the real culprits.

There is growing support for the 114 across the country. Black students occupying Sir George Williams University have voted solidarity with the indicted Simon Fraser students. At the University of Toronto, the Toronto Student Movement is organizing an informational rally on the case later this month. The U of T Students Administrative Council has voted to provide part of the funds required to bring an arrested student from Simon Fraser to speak.

# 4 in B.C. Leadership Bid

There are now four candidates bidding for leadership of the British Columbia NDP. Latest entry is John Conway, 25, a teaching assistant and activist at Simon Fraser University. The other candidates are all MLAs — Bob Williams, a town planner, Tom Berger, a lawyer, and Dave Barrett, a social worker.

Of the four, only Conway poses his candidacy in terms of an alternative to present party program. He says: "The NDP must become a movement. That means that it must concern itself with working politically at every level in society: in the streets, neighborhoods, factories, schools and so forth. . . . If we want a Canada free of the miasma of American imperialism; a socialist Canada in which people democratically control their lives, their schools, their factories, indeed all social, political, economic and cultural institutions; then we must be prepared to engage in political struggle on all fronts, whether the local school board or the provincial legislature."

Conway is sponsored by the Committee for a Socialist Movement in the NDP, which he describes as "a very loose alliance of the more progressive elements of the party who are concerned that the party, concentrating as it does on electoral activity, is becoming increasingly irrelevant to the day to day struggle of the people for a dignified and humane life in a capitalist society."

In another development in the leadership race, Tom Berger, challenged at a UBC campus panel discussion for leadership aspirants, called for the dropping of charges against the Simon Fraser 114. This is the first pledge of support for the

## CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

students to come from a leading NDP spokesman since incumbent leader Robert Strachan's infamous approval of the RCMP arrests and the laying of criminal charges against the 114 sit-in students at SFU.

The utilization of modern technology for the benefit of society, and not just a few individual owners, cannot be achieved without public ownership of the means of production, even if public ownership is not in itself an automatic guarantee of a more humane society, Ed Broadbent, New Democratic MP for Oshawa-Whitby, told a seminar in Toronto recently. Broadbent was summing up the discussion at the Woodsworth Foundation's conference on the theme "The Technological Society." He challenged the

NDP to make public ownership a major objective, and pointed to the upcoming federal leadership convention this fall as an important opportunity to demand incorporation of this principle in the party program.

\* \* \*

"Revolutionary change" is needed if the university is going to become "an effective instrument for social change," Laurier Lapierre, federal vice-president of the NDP, told a conference on the student movement at the University of Western Ontario on Jan. 25. Noting that universities are run by "disciplinary, dominating dictatorships" and "the result has been an enslaving of the human personality — not a liberation," Lapierre said he could accept the use of violence within the democratic process to achieve the necessary changes; all great moments in world history have come in revolutionary acts. "I'm not going to condemn students who are accused of violence because in essence one has to assess the extent of violence that has been done against them."

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# Que. Socialist Youth Mark Gains

by John Riddell

From serious debate to raucous discothèque, from clash of opinion to firm resolve, the Quebec Socialist Students Conference showed the real face of the revolutionary student movement in French Canada — and gave good promise of its future success.

One hundred and twenty young people came to the students center of the Université de Montréal Feb.

8-9, a third of them young workers and a third of them from outside Montreal. Dominating their debates was the urgency of coming to grips with the lessons of the October student occupation movement.

When 50,000 Quebec students struck and occupied their schools in October, they carried out the most powerful student action then seen on this continent. Yet their movement was broken without achieving any of its demands for basic edu-

cational reform and increased French-language university facilities.

The Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LJS) organizers of the conference, had called on the Quebec student union, UGEQ, to take the lead in coordinating and extending the October student occupation and strike movement. Now, at the conference, Michel Mill of the LJS confronted a leading spokesman for UGEQ, Louise Harel, in a debate on the lessons of the October experience.

The balance of organization and structures, said Louise Harel, was what established the independence of the student movement from bourgeois society.

Michel Mill explained how the UGEQ leadership's reliance on "spontaneity" was only a disguise for its refusal to act, which left the students isolated in their schools, unable to counter the onslaught of government repression.

He defended the document presented by *Jeune Garde*, newspaper of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, which proposed a program to transform UGEQ into an effective instrument for student action. The document, adopted by the conference,

provides the basis for the LJS's challenge to the UGEQ conference in March.

The following day Arthur Young, chairman of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action, took on two leading spokesmen for Quebec labor, Michel Chartrand, chairman of the Montreal council of the CNTU and Roland Morin, acting leader of the Quebec NDP and head of the Quebec United Auto Workers, in a debate on the political tasks before the labor and student movements.

Young challenged both Morin and Chartrand with the failure of their movements to join in building a Quebec labor party that could provide an effective political alternative to the anti-labor, anti-student provincial government. In contrast to both, he emphasized the need for labor and students to represent the national demands of the Québécois, particularly for a unified French-language school system.

In a panel discussion of the international student movement, Félix Marinelli explained the interconnected character of social struggles which are bursting forth in all sec-

(See page 4)



photo by A. Mintz

Members of panel on the International Student movement. Denis Lambert, LJS; David Thorstad, Félix Marinelli, John Riddell



photo by A. Mintz

**YOUNG SOCIALISTS MEET.** A view of the Quebec Socialist Students Conference. Speaking is Michel Chartrand of CNTU. Left of him is Arthur Young of Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

## ...Quebec Conference

(Continued from page 1)

tors of the world.

Speaking for the cross-Canada leadership of the LSA-LSO, John Riddell analyzed the need for solidarity in action of English- and French-Canadian socialists. David Thorstad of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party discussed the new radicalization in the U.S.A. among black people, students and anti-war GIs. The conference resolved to join in building the April 6 action for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

Among conference participants

was a significant contingent from the English-language student movement in Quebec. Only the night before, the Montreal socialist forum, sponsored by the LSO and the LJS, has been held in the plush Board of Governors room in occupied territory on Sir George Williams University, to hear a French-speaking black student leader explain the aims of the occupation movement. Now, in the conference, a workshop for English-speaking radicals reported on the need to awaken the solidarity of English students with the struggle of the Québécois.

In the final session the conference moved from discussion to action. LJS organizer Walter Blumenthal called on all present to join in building the revolutionary socialist youth movement in Quebec, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. A flexible but cohesive structure was outlined and debated, based on the formation of LJS sections in schools across the province. The conference unanimously adopted the proposals contained in his document for transforming the LJS into the vehicle for the organization of the Quebec student vanguard.

A provisional organizing committee was elected to lead in the Quebec-wide expansion of the LJS. Of its eight members, five had joined the LJS since October. Three members were from the strong Université de Montréal section, three from the pre-university colleges (CEGEPs), including leaders of clubs in St-Hyacinthe and Thetford Mines.

With the singing of the Internationale the conference ended — and the work of organizing the LJS across Quebec got underway.



# 'Policy First'

## -B.C. NDP Left

VANCOUVER — Supporters of the B.C. Social Caucus in the NDP are circulating a caucus program to party members in preparation for the April leadership convention. The program, adopted at a public meeting of the caucus held in late January at the provincial party headquarters, calls on the party to move toward a clear socialist program and to actively engage in struggles of the working people and students. It calls for public ownership of the mines and forest industry in B.C., a government housing industry with public housing under tenants control, opposition to all forms of government intervention in the union movement, specifically to any form of compulsory arbitration Bill 33, full entry into municipal politics and active participation in the anti-Vietnam war movement.

Caucus chairman Nic Shugalo reports that the response to the initial work of the caucus has been good. The Vancouver press, radio and TV have given unprecedented coverage to its activity. The caucus looks forward to capitalizing on the radical mood expressed in last November's Ontario NDP convention and the encouraging response to the Ontario Socialist Caucus.

In Shugalo's view, one of the major tasks before the caucus in the two months remaining before the convention is to intervene in the current leadership race to make it a contest of ideas rather than style and personalities. NDP officials have stated that little time at the convention is planned for discussion of program, with most of the time geared to a TV presentation of the leadership contest. Commenting on this, Shugalo says: "If the party leadership is concerned over our TV image, then what could be more attractive to the working people of B.C. — in contrast to the phony hoopla gatherings of the Liberals, Conservatives and Socreds — than a convention of the NDP frankly debating and deciding pol-

icy on the most important questions facing the working people."

A leaflet being circulated by the caucus, entitled, "For a policy convention — not a TV Show," takes up this whole question, pointing out the political futility of attempting to substitute for a clear program with advertising gimmicks. The leaflet concludes with the appeal: "Delegates must go to discuss policy — not raise their hands as part of some leadership candidate machine. Constituencies must allocate time for discussion of resolutions. The leadership candidates must put their program for power to the membership. Which way for the NDP? The Socialist way? It is their responsibility to tell us. At the April convention we can take the step to bring B.C. an NDP government. Every member must see that this opportunity is not missed."

The leadership candidates bear a heavy responsibility for determining the character of the convention. A caucus representative will be interviewing each candidate asking him to express his position on the issues raised in the caucus program.

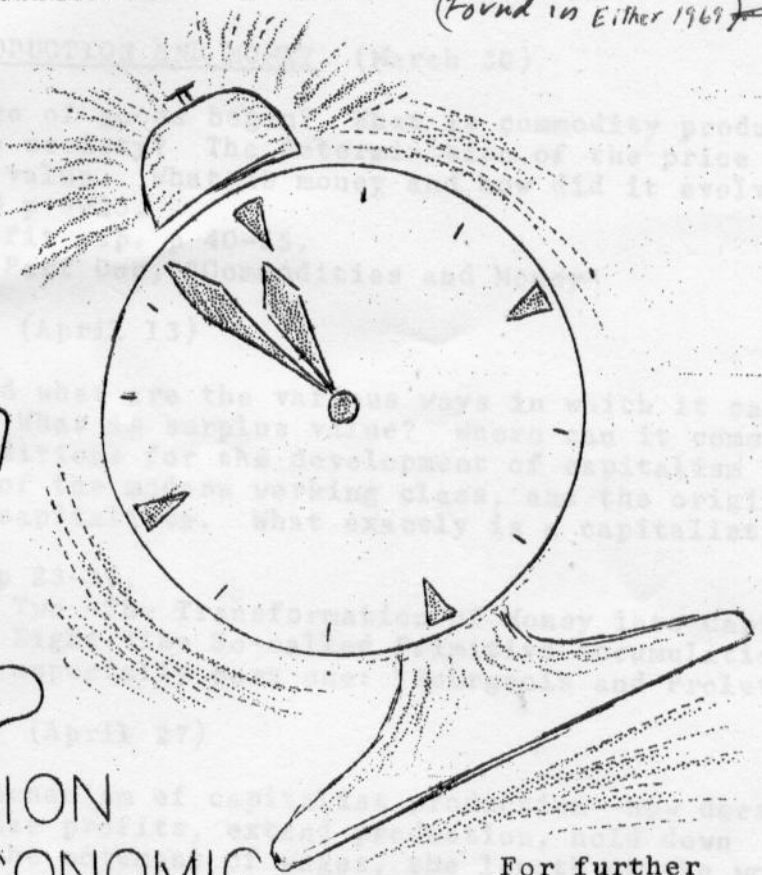
The caucus has also organized two public meetings. The first, on March 5 at the provincial headquarters, will be a panel discussion with labor and student leaders on Education, Labor and the NDP. The second, on March 28 at the IWA hall, will be a discussion of the leadership contest with the candidates.

The recent by-election victories in B.C. show clearly that an NDP government is on the agenda. The forces around the socialist caucus are determined that the leadership contest and the April convention will result in the adoption of a clear programmatic alternative to the people of B.C. — a socialist alternative. New Democrats who would like a copy of the caucus program or wish to send a contribution to aid the caucus should write to 2981 W. 23rd, Vancouver or phone 254-5836.

(Found in Either 1969 ~~1973~~)

# What Makes Capitalism

# TICK?



## AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY - 7 CLASSES

For further  
information:  
John Riddell 922-6665  
Kate Porter 921-4627

Here is the outline for our class on Marxist economic theory. The class will be of value to all, whether or not you have done previous reading in economics. You should aim to participate actively in the classes, by reading, and by taking assignments on special topics as the class proceeds.

The class will be based on Volume One of Mandel's "Marxist Economic Theory." It will be in stock at the Vanguard Bookstore any day now; meanwhile you can borrow a copy by contacting John Wilson, 922-6998. You can also read the parallel passages of Mandel's shorter "Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory" (\$1.20)

But above all, read Marx and Engels. In four short works they map out clearly their basic ideas: The Communist Manifesto (75¢), Socialism Utopian and Scientific (60¢), Wage Labor and Capital (30¢) and Value Price and Profit (30¢). And when you've read these, start on Capital itself--the outline gives the corresponding chapters for each class.

### I-- THE ECONOMICS OF HUMAN EVOLUTION (March 16)

The beginnings of human production, and of the social division of labor. The great economic revolutions of early human history. Primitive communism and the birth of class society. The role of a social surplus product in human evolution. The "long view of history"--the Marxist historical method.

READ: Marxist Economic Theory ("MET") p 23-48.

Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory ("INTRO") p 7-9

The Long View of History p 7-35

## EVERY OTHER SUNDAY MAR. 16 - JUNE 8

## 2-- EXCHANGE, COMMODITY PRODUCTION AND MONEY (March 30)

How did the exchange of goods begin? What is commodity production and how did it change human society? The determination of the price of goods--the labor theory of value. What is money and how did it evolve?

READ: MET p 49-78. INTRO p 9-23.

Value Price and Profit esp. p 40-55.

Capital Volume One Part One, "Commodities and Money"

## 3-- THE RISE OF CAPITALISM (April 13)

What is capital, and what are the various ways in which it can be used to bring a profit? What is surplus value? Where can it come from? What were the preconditions for the development of capitalism in Western Europe? The birth of the modern working class, and the origins of the wealth of the early capitalists. What exactly is a capitalist mode of production?

READ: MET 79-131. INTRO p 23-36.

Capital vol. 1 Part Two "The Transformation of Money into Capital"  
Part Eight "The So-called Primitive Accumulation"

Communist Manifesto especially part one: "Bourgeois and Proletarians"

## 4-- WAGE-LABOR AND CAPITAL. (April 27)

What is the basic mechanism of capitalist production--how does it generate the drive to maximize profits, extend production, hold down wages? What forces govern the movement of wages, the length of the work-week and the intensity of labor? In what ways does the exploitation of workers increase as capitalism develops?

READ: MET p 132-154. INTRO p 37-41.

Capital vol. 1 Parts Three, Four, Five and Six.

Socialism Utopian and Scientific especially part three, p 50-70.

Wage Labor and Capital.

## 5-- THE CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM (May 11)

Capitalism, the most dynamic and revolutionary mode of production seen before our century, is shot through with inherent contradictions which not only generate economic crises, but open the door to the overthrow of the system by the working class. What are these contradictions? How do they affect the class struggle under capitalism?

READ: MET p 154-182. INTRO p 41-54

Capital vol. 1 Parts Seven "The Accumulation of Capital"

Part Eight Chapter 32 "Historical Tendency of  
Capitalist Accumulation"

## 6-- MONEY AND INFLATION (May 25)

How has money evolved to its present form? How do modern governments manipulate money? What kind of money regulates international trade?

Balance of payments, and how it affects a capitalist economy. What are the sources of inflation? Can there be inflation in a workers state?

READ: MET 242-271. INTRO p 67-69.

## 7-- PERIODICAL CRISES IN THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY (June 8)

The Marxist theory of capitalist economic growth, The causes of economic fluctuations and crises. Has capitalism learned to live without crisis? Where is capitalism headed today?

READ: MET p 305-376. INTRO p 62-67.

ALL CLASSES AT 7:30 PM, 1 CUMBERLAND ST.



# Debates at Ont. NDP Council

The provincial council of the Ontario New Democratic Party has voted to support the April 6 demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. The vote followed the line of the party executive's proposal to the meeting, which was attended by representatives of all 117 ridings.

An amendment from the floor to strengthen the motion to include active province-wide participation by the party in building the demonstrations received a tie vote. Chairman Gordon Vichert, president of the ONDP, cast the deciding vote on the side of the executive proposal.

Other lively debates arose over resolutions left over for Council consideration from the November convention. Council endorsed a resolution demanding nationalization of Bell Telephone and another one calling on elected NDP representatives "to place much more emphasis upon the social ownership of the means of production and distribution as the only effective solution to the serious problems now facing the province."

However, the economic policy resolution which the convention had referred back for strengthening was passed, and an amendment to include the demand for "social ownership" and the concept of workers democracy was defeated, with about thirty voting for the amendment.

A resolution on the Sir George Williams University incidents was unanimously passed. It supported black students' demands for "a proper and fair hearing into allegations of racist practices by faculty members." A press release from the federal New Democratic Youth was circulated, drawing attention to the series of administration-faculty provocations and betrayals of the students' trust prior to the computer incident, and calling for support of the defense fund to aid the arrested students.

## Campaign for The 8-Pager

The campaign to double the size of the *Workers Vanguard* to 8 pages by May 1st is off to a good start. Already readers have pledged \$5,540 — almost half our objective of \$13,000. From Vancouver, \$1,400; Toronto, \$2,740, Toronto area and Hamilton-Niagara, \$200 each. No word yet from several other areas where we anticipate a good response, but we're sure they'll come through!

Readers of our sister publication in Quebec, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, which is collaborating with us in the joint La Lutte-Vanguard fund drive, have pledged \$1,000.

In this and subsequent issues, we are carrying articles like that above showing how the *Vanguard* reported key developments in the international and Canadian labor-socialist movement. What we were able to accomplish with a tiny 4-page monthly, only suggests the possibilities with the expanded twice-monthly paper the fund drive is aiming for.

The first scoreboard will appear in the next issue. So keep those dollars coming. Make sure we go over the top on May 1st to an 8-page *Workers Vanguard*.

## Subscribe Now!

☐ \$2.00 for a year

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# Blacks, Indians Hail Malcolm X

Memorial meetings to the martyred black leader Malcolm X were held in Toronto and Vancouver on Feb. 21, the fourth anniversary of Malcolm's assassination.

In Toronto, a meeting of over 300 sponsored by the Black Liberation Front (formerly the Afro-American Progressive Association) was addressed by prominent representatives of the city's black and Indian communities.

A black psychiatrist, Dr. Gustavo Tolentino of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, reviewed Malcolm X's contributions to the liberation struggle of black people in North America. He stressed Malcolm's principled attitude to alliances with other groups, his emphasis on self-defense of the black community ("Malcolm never tired of showing that it was the *government* that was responsible for racism"); his ability to translate complex ideas into the language of the people; and Malcolm's internationalism, in particular his appreciation of the common identity of the white power structure and its racism with its imperialist policies abroad. "In his last days," Tolentino declared, "Malcolm saw that the elimination of capitalism was necessary if freedom, an end to racism, was to be achieved."

Jan Carew, Guyana-born novelist and playwright, eloquently described how the history books distort the real story of black and Indian civilization in Africa and on this continent.

José Garcia, secretary of the Black Liberation Front, described the BLF's objectives.

Fred Kelly said Indians should ally themselves with other "minorities." But he added, "I exclude from minority groups that capitalistic minority group who decide whether my brothers and sisters are going to have equality."

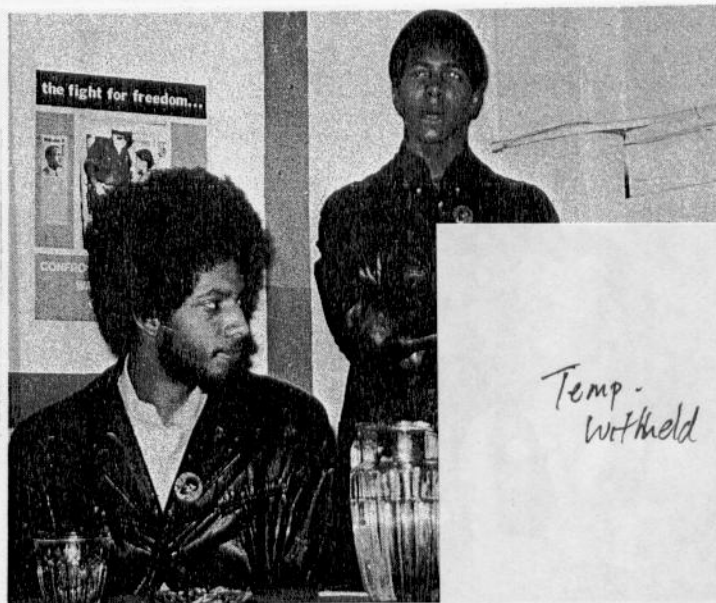
The rally was chaired by Edna Manitowabi, a well-known Indian folksinger.

A featured speaker at the Vancouver Vanguard Forum was Aaron Dixon, captain of the Seattle Black Panther Party. Jacquie Henderson, editor of *Young Socialist Forum*, shared the platform. The meeting was attended by over 100.

Dixon was accompanied by two youthful bodyguards from the Seattle Black Panther Party. Immigration officials "questioned" Dixon and his companions for over 45 minutes at Vancouver International Airport, prior to allowing them into the country. Newspapers and other literature were seized. "They said it had to be censored and that they wanted to make sure it wasn't subversive or preaching violence," Dixon reported to the meeting.

Dixon devoted his remarks to the current struggles of Afro-Americans for freedom. He explained the 10-point "Black Panther Party Program" to the audience and appealed for support to the Huey Newton Defense campaign. Cheques to the fund can be sent to Huey Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 318, Berkeley, California 94701.

Other memorial meetings were held in Montreal and Ottawa.



**BLACK PANTHER SPEAKS.** Aaron Dixon, left, Seattle Black Panther leader, was featured speaker with Jacquie Henderson, right, of Young Socialists at Vancouver memorial to Malcolm X. Unidentified bodyguard stands behind them.

# Unity Needed in Defense of SFU 114

by Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER — The trials of the 114 students arrested in the Simon Fraser University occupation last November have been underway in Burnaby magistrate's court since March 5.

Originally charged with wilful obstruction of private property — a criminal charge carrying a maximum penalty of five years imprisonment — 102 of the 114 later pleaded guilty to reduced charges, hoping to avoid criminal records on the basis of a reported "deal" cooked up by the prosecution.

Contrary to their hopes, however, it now appears those pleading guilty may also receive criminal records. Moreover, the prosecution has divided the accused into different categories according to scholastic standing, social background and political record, on the understanding that the court will levy fines in varying amounts according to the degree of involvement of each of the accused in the sit-in. The Crown's objective is clearly to single out the non-student "outside agitators" for special persecution. At least one of the three magistrates has argued against suspending sentences on those pleading guilty.

The eight accused who are pleading not guilty on the original charge come up for trial on April 28.

Their attempt to carry a principled defense has been hampered by cheap factional tactics on the part of certain leaders of the Students for a Democratic University (SDU) at Simon Fraser who have moved to cut off the eight from all legal and financial aid from the existing defense committee. According to the SDU leaders, the eight pleading not guilty should have felt bound by the majority decision to plead guilty. Hence, the claim goes, they are no longer part of the majority "defense," and should organize on their own.

Money being collected in the name of all 114 arrested students is being used exclusively for the 102 pleading guilty. Rob Walsh, president of the SFU student society, comments in the student newspaper, *The Peak*:

"Apparently, the legal notion of the right to plead not guilty and have a trial, has not occurred to the elite of the SDU. In any case, those who choose to exercise their

rights will pay for it."

SDU leader John Cleveland has replied to Walsh's charge by red-baiting those pleading not guilty, attempting to link some of them with the Young Socialists, the League for Socialist Action, and "the Fourth International."

The way out of this destructive impasse is clear. Funds collected in the name of the 114 should be used impartially and equitably. More important, the villification of the minority pleading not guilty should be repudiated by all those defending the 114. The principle of the labor movement, "An injury to one is an injury to all," is recommended to the leaders of the SDU as a starting point for their conduct in the defense case.

## Caucus Meets

VANCOUVER — How should the NDP meet the education and labor crisis in B.C.? This was the topic for discussion at a "pre-convention panel discussion" sponsored by the Socialist Caucus on March 5.

The meeting, attended by about 30 New Democrats, was held in the NDP headquarters. Speakers were Al Clark, chairman of the strike committee, Local 170 of the plumbers' union, Brian Belfont, a Templeton High School teacher, and Ken Hiebert, one of the Simon Fraser 114 arrested during the occupation of the SFU administration building. Discussion was lively and centered around the burning need for the NDP to become involved in the day to day struggles of workers and students.

A statement from the caucus was distributed, condemning NDP MLA Frank Calder's invitation to the government to use the Bill 33 compulsory arbitration legislation in the Granduc mine lockout, and challenging the NDP leadership to launch a massive fight against Bill 33.

Next meeting of the caucus is a discussion with the leadership candidates at a wine and cheese meeting March 28 at the IWA Hall, 13th and Commercial in Vancouver.

# Our Defense of Cuba

by Dick Fidler

One of the *Workers Vanguard's* proudest achievements is its record in explaining and defending the revolution in Cuba, the first workers state in the western hemisphere.

From the first reports of the armed struggle led by Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and the 26th of July Movement (see excerpt from 1957 account, below) we followed Cuban developments with close attention and sympathy. As the rebel armed forces swept into Havana in January, 1959 following Batista's flight, we pointed to the interna-

"The regime of General Fulgencio Batista is in crisis. A revolutionary group called 'the 26th of July Movement' which identifies itself as socialistic, has become very active. Its aim is the overthrow of Batista's dictatorship, and the establishment of a democratic Cuba."

— *Workers Vanguard*,  
April 1957

tional significance of their victory: "The revolution that is now unfolding is a powerful blow to world imperialism. It is symbolic of the rising revolutionary tide in Latin America."

Our analysis of the anti-capitalist perspectives before the revolution (see quotation below right) was dramatically confirmed in the first months of the new regime. As the Castro leadership, supported by the armed worker-campesino militias, moved to implement a radical program of agrarian and urban reform, they met increasing hostility from the Cuban capitalists and North American imperialism. The original unstable coalition between the revolutionaries and 'the bourgeois' liberals broke up, with the latter fleeing to Miami where many became leaders of the counter-revolutionary *gusanos*. The tightening U.S.-imposed embargo failed to deter the Castro leadership from uncompromising adherence to its radical reform program, however. The nationalization of most foreign, then Cuban-owned businesses was marked by a corresponding development of a powerful socialist consciousness among the Cuban people. It also subjected Cuba to the continual threat of invasion and vicious harassment from U.S. imperialism which continues to this day.

The *Vanguard* and its supporters have defended the revolution against

all its enemies. At its moments of greatest peril, such as the Bay of Pigs invasion or the 1962 Missile Crisis, we helped mobilize demonstrations of support for Cuba across the country. We have repeatedly condemned the Canadian government's collaboration in the U.S. blockade of "strategic goods," and consistently argued for greatly increased Canadian trade with Cuba, not least because of our understanding that strengthening the base of Cuba's socialized economy is an important defense against the danger of bureaucratic degeneration.

The *Vanguard* has unceasingly campaigned for Cuba's cause in the CCF-NDP and the Canadian labor movement, and carried extensive interviews with Canadian unionists and socialists who visited Cuba, describing its great accomplishments in health care, education, agriculture and industry. Every meeting, tour and other activity of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been recorded in its pages.

Most important, the *Vanguard* has analyzed each new political development in the revolution. It has reported in full more speeches by Fidel Castro than any other Cana-

dian publication. These include Fidel's speech on why the ideology of the revolution became Marxism-Leninism, his attacks on Stalinist

"The Castro government is confronted by two dangers: 1) the threat of a comeback into office of the same old corrupt forces that Batista grouped around himself, as the material base from which they sprang has remained untouched, and 2) that the masses, failing a genuine solution of their problems, will boldly move out on the march again to carry the revolution forward in the direction of ending capitalism."

— *Workers Vanguard*,  
Mid-February, 1959

Fidel met the challenge, and the revolution took the socialist road.

sectarianism, his call for an honest critical approach to history, the Cuban line of principled solidarity with the Vietnamese and world revolution, and key documents like the Second Declaration of Havana.



**SOLIDARITY.** One of the first Cuban ships to visit a Canadian port after the victory of the revolutionary forces was the *Bahia de Matanzas*. A group of Canadian revolutionary socialists paid a visit to its crew on board ship in Toronto harbor. They were greeted warmly by the sailors, who presented Ross Dowson, editor of the *Vanguard*, with a copy of Che Guevara's book *Guerrilla Warfare*, personally autographed by members of the crew.

Mid-July, 1960

**STOP THE COLD WAR DRIVE AGAINST CUBA**

By ROSS DOWSON

January, 1961

**Break the Silence on Cuba's Plight**

Why are the CCF NDP silent on Cuba? Should we be?

Mid-March, 1962

**CASTRO HITS OUT AGAINST FACTIONALISTS, SECTARIANS**

By PAUL KANE

Mid-October, 1962

**CUBANS OUST HATED BATISTA**

Mid-January, 1963

**BC Labor To Truth about Cuba**

January, 1963

**Weekend's Anti-Cuba Articles A Tissue of Lies and Fantasies**

Workers VANGUARD

Mid-February, 1963

**Behind Liberal Gov't's Policy on CANADA - CUBA TRADE & OAS**

By Ross Dowson

Mid-March, 1963

**45 Cdn. Students Enthusiastic About Eight Week Visit in Cuba**

Workers VANGUARD

Mid-April, 1963

**Cuba's Castro Appeals For Unity Against U.S. Assault In Vietnam**

The major portion of the text of a speech by Cuba's Prime Minister Fidel Castro. It was delivered at the University of Toronto on March 12 at a meeting sponsored by the Workers Vanguard.

## Campaign for The 8-Pager

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**OPERATION MCGILL.** Raymond Lemieux (top) and Stan Gray addressed demonstration of 8,000 in Montreal demanding McGill become a French university by 1972. March was a big success despite mobilization of 1,000 cops, harassment of organizers and hysterical campaign waged against it by press and authorities. Demands focused on need to transform McGill from instrument of Anglo-Canadian capitalist domination of French Canada into tool for emancipation of Québécois.

# Canadian Troops Train For Vietnam-Type Wars

by Joan Newbigging

"Everything quoted by the right hon. member appears to me just pure fantasy." So went Prime Minister Trudeau's reply when questioned in the Commons on March 20 by former prime minister John Diefenbaker about statements in a leaflet published by the Vancouver April 6 Mobilization Committee. The statements referred to the fact that Canadian troops are being trained in counter-insurgency warfare and that there is a standing offer by Trudeau and External Affairs Minister Sharp to send Canadian forces to Vietnam.

Pure fantasy? Just that week the newspapers carried stories of Canadian troops training in counter-insurgency warfare in Jamaica. The facts can be easily verified. The record on both counts is clear.

Moreover, the Canadian government has consistently backed every step of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Ottawa has consistently, if sometimes discreetly, supported the Pentagon in all its moves to halt the spread of the colonial revolution — in the Dominican Republic, throughout South East Asia and around the world. Is it unrealistic to suggest that the U.S. may call on Canada to provide some sort of more overt assistance in Vietnam — perhaps in the form of direct military aid? How do things look for future Canadian intervention against these wars of liberation?

The dominant tendency of these liberation struggles is for them to move in a socialist direction, to draw vast areas out of the world capitalist economy. The U.S., as the bulwark of the capitalist system, has taken upon itself the task of halting this trend. The well-known activi-

ties of the U.S. military throughout Latin America are testimony to the readiness of the Pentagon to intervene whenever it feels its economic interests are threatened. As the upsurge in the colonial revolution gains momentum, we can anticipate that the U.S. government will be forced to make increasing demands on its allies to assist in preserving imperialism's world position.

In the past, as in the Vietnam conflict, the U.S. has made good use of its allies; through its military alliances and through the United Nations, the U.S. has sought cover for its many counter-insurgency enterprises. The Canadian government has duly played its role in this process.

Striking examples of Canadian involvement are Korea, where over 8,000 Canadian soldiers were pitted under the UN flag against the Korean freedom fighters; and the Congo, where the Canadian peacekeeping force, again under the UN flag, was complicit in the murder of the Congolese leader, Patrice Lumumba.

Were these incidents aberrations? Mistaken enterprises undertaken by some irresponsible politician who failed to have his government's real interests at heart? On the contrary, they are all a part of a logical process — an inevitable aspect of the capitalist structure of Canadian society. No matter what big business government happens to be in power, it will unwaveringly and consistently promote a foreign policy that serves the interests of Canadian businessmen.

And these interests are largely inseparable from those of U.S. big business. The Pentagon, having taken upon itself the task of defend-

(See page 3)

# NATO, NORAD Bind Us to Missile Scheme

by Dick Fidler

"Like it or lump it." That, according to Senator William Fulbright, is what the Nixon administration is telling Canadians about its proposed anti-ballistic missile system (ABM). U.S. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird — who wrote Barry Goldwater's bomb-happy 1964 platform — had just been explaining to Fulbright's Foreign Relations committee that Canada had no veto power over the projected missile sites.

Two of these sites are located close to the Canadian border, in North Dakota and Montana.

Nixon's ominous decision to proceed with construction of the costly ABM scheme has provoked widespread protests among the American people. Half the Senate is reported to oppose it. But in Canada, where it is no less controversial, the Trudeau government has kept remarkably quiet, refusing to accede to repeated requests from the New Democratic opposition that it give some assurance that Canada will not participate in the ABM system.

As if unconcerned with the implications of Nixon's new escalation of the nuclear arms race, the Liberal government is drawing up final plans to renew its commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Trudeau hints the ABM scheme may be integrated with Canada's sister nuclear alliance, NORAD.

Nixon's "Safeguard" system is a renamed development of Lyndon Johnson's original Sentinel project. The new scheme calls for deployment of short-range Sprint and intermediate-range Spartan missiles around key military bases to protect the giant "offensive" Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. Few experts take Nixon's cost estimate of "\$6-7 bil-

## Vietnamese Freedom Fighters Hail April 6 Demonstration

A leading representative of the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam has hailed the April 6 Day of Protest against the war and expressed solidarity with the slogans of the anti-war marchers.

Huynh Van Ba, who recently toured Canada with another representative of the NLF, states:

"We are grateful for the fact that world public opinion, and particularly North American public opinion, has decreed April 6, 1969 an International Day of Protest Against the American Aggression in South Vietnam. At this very moment, the people and Armed Forces of Liberation of south Vietnam are redoubling their efforts to harass and strike firmly and unflinchingly the American aggressors and their acolytes throughout the south Vietnamese territory."

The statement concludes:

"We are particularly pleased to note that your slogans are also ours: *Complete and Unconditional Withdrawal of American Troops! Vietnam to the Vietnamese!*"

lion" seriously. Many predict that this so-called "thin shield" system if constructed is bound to escalate into a heavy or "thick" one with a cost of up to \$70 billion.

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Behind all these "practical" arguments from the experts, however, is the big question: there simply is no military "defense" against nuclear weapons. If Russian or Chinese missiles are ever intercepted over Canada, Prof. Arthur Porter, head of the University of Toronto's school of industrial engineering told a *Star* reporter, "you don't need an ABM, you need a prayer mat. You have reached a point of no return. . . . You can't explode a two megaton bomb at 200 or 300 miles up and hope that it just won't do anything. It may blind quite a few people and it would probably set off some massive forest fires, and indeed it's going to be a frightful situation but when you consider what's going on then this would be of almost trivial importance."

Nixon's real motives for going ahead with ABM must be found elsewhere. His decision provides a guarantee of continued high subsidies to American big business through contracts to build the Sentinel system. The prime contractor for the Sentinel is Bell Telephone Laboratories, which last year received \$775,927,000 in Defense Department contracts. Other corporations that will divide the Sentinel pie include the McDonnell-Douglas Co., General Electric, Sperry-Rand, Raytheon Co., AVCO, Hughes Aircraft, and Radio Corporation of America.

This is one explanation for Trudeau's refusal to dissociate Canada from the ABM. He is already maneuvering to get Canadian business a share of the defense production contracts which flow from Nixon's proposal.

No doubt Trudeau has other plans in mind, too. When the original Sentinel project was announced in September, 1967, the *Globe and Mail's* Washington correspondent reported that "Pentagon officers would like to see one of the associated radar sites located in Canada north of the Great Lakes and protected with short-range Sprint missiles." In his *Star* article, atomic expert Ralph Lapp reveals:

"If Canadians are concerned about Spartan interceptions along the U.S. border, they might be surprised to learn that a more advanced ABM concept aims at mid-range interception. . . . Since the corridors through which ICBMs must

(See page 2)



**PEACEKEEPER?** Canadian soldier crouches in Jamaican sugar cane field. He is one of a thousand Canadian troops earmarked for future UN operations, who just completed training in Jamaica under officers trained in the U.S. Army counter-insurgency school in Panama.



# NATO, NORAD Bind Us to Missile Scheme

by Dick Fidler

"Like it or lump it." That, according to Senator William Fulbright, is what the Nixon administration is telling Canadians about its proposed anti-ballistic missile system (ABM). U.S. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird — who wrote Barry Goldwater's bomb-happy 1964 platform — had just been explaining to Fulbright's Foreign Relations committee that Canada had no veto power over the projected missile sites.

Two of these sites are located close to the Canadian border, in North Dakota and Montana.

Nixon's ominous decision to proceed with construction of the costly ABM scheme has provoked widespread protests among the American people. Half the Senate is reported to oppose it. But in Canada, where it is no less controversial, the Trudeau government has kept remarkably quiet, refusing to accede to repeated requests from the New Democratic opposition that it give some assurance that Canada will not participate in the ABM system.

As if unconcerned with the implications of Nixon's new escalation of the nuclear arms race, the Liberal government is drawing up final plans to renew its commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Trudeau hints the ABM scheme may be integrated with Canada's sister nuclear alliance, NORAD.

Nixon's "Safeguard" system is a renamed development of Lyndon Johnson's original Sentinel project. The new scheme calls for deployment of short-range Sprint and intermediate-range Spartan missiles around key military bases to protect the giant "offensive" Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. Few experts take Nixon's cost estimate of "\$6-7 bil-

## Vietnamese Freedom Fighters Hail April 6 Demonstration

A leading representative of the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam has hailed the April 6 Day of Protest against the war and expressed solidarity with the slogans of the anti-war marchers.

Huynh Van Ba, who recently toured Canada with another representative of the NLF, states:

"We are grateful for the fact that world public opinion, and particularly North American public opinion, has decreed April 6, 1969 an International Day of Protest Against the American Aggression in South Vietnam. At this very moment, the people and Armed Forces of Liberation of south Vietnam are redoubling their efforts to harass and strike firmly and unflinchingly the American aggressors and their acolytes throughout the south Vietnamese territory."

The statement concludes:

"We are particularly pleased to note that your slogans are also ours:  
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lion" seriously. Many predict that this so-called "thin shield" system if constructed is bound to escalate into a heavy or "thick" one with a cost of up to \$70 billion.

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Set by Union Labor.

p.2

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(See page 2)

## ...The ABM and Canada

(continued from page 1)

travel from the Soviet Union to the United States pass over Canada the mid-range system would depend on U.S.-Canadian cooperation on radar sites and missile farms."

Going further, Trudeau has already threatened that the ABM system might be directly linked with the North American Air Defense agreement under joint U.S.-Canadian control. If the government feels it should participate in ABM decisions, Trudeau told the house, "it may be we shall have to become partners in the ABM system."

Will there soon be two fingers, Canadian as well as American, on the ABM trigger — just as there are now, on the nuclear-armed Bomarc missiles in Ontario and Quebec?

It is hard to believe that NORAD

— renewed only last year — is not already deeply involved in the ABM plans. How much, it is impossible to ascertain. The terms of the NORAD agreement, negotiated by the Tories in 1958, renegotiated last year by the Liberals — have never been made public, not even to the Commons External Affairs committee.

Similar secrecy surrounds the decision on NATO membership, which will be decided by the Cabinet, then communicated to the NATO ministerial meeting in Washington April 10-11 — and then, just for the record, debated in parliament after the Easter recess.

Of course, the Trudeau government's acquiescence in Nixon's nuclear oneupmanship leaves no doubt — if there ever was any — about the verdict on NATO.

But the ABM controversy does more than expose the total farce of Trudeau's foreign policy "review." Morally unjustified, militarily indefensible, politically dangerous, this costly missile network puts in question the entire policy of blind support for the U.S. alliance structure which has characterized successive postwar governments.

Isn't it time we called a halt to this nuclear nonsense? Most Canadians don't like the ABM plan. But we don't have to "lump" it. We can fight it. And a good way to begin is by joining in the demonstrations on April 6 against Canada's complicity in the imperialist war in Vietnam. Let's make it clear to Trudeau that we want an end to his support of U.S. imperialism — everywhere — now.

## **B.C. NDP Leadership:**

# **Candidates State Their Platforms**

by Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER — The federal parliamentary caucus' support for NATO and NORAD came in for sharp criticism from candidates for the leadership of the B.C. New Democratic Party, at a meeting of the Socialist Caucus here March 28.

"The position of the B.C. NDP is anti-NATO and anti-NORAD, and that's my position too," said Dave Barrett, MLA. Another leading contender and MLA, Bob Williams, said he agreed with Barrett. Tom Berger, MLA, said "NATO and NORAD are really irrelevant, and Canada has no place in these organizations."

The fourth candidate, John Conway, a student leader at Simon Fraser University who is running on a socialist program, denounced Douglas' support for NATO as "de facto support for U.S. imperialism." Conway took issue with Berger's proposal that Canada "emphasize working through the United Nations for peacekeeping" by reminding his audience of the reactionary record of past UN peacekeeping activities in the Congo and Korea.

The four candidates were responding to a challenge from Nic Shugalo, chairman of the Socialist Caucus which sponsored the meeting, to state their stand on the MP's recent statement. The "Meet the Candidates" wine and cheese party and panel discussion was a highlight of the Socialist Caucus' activity preceding the provincial NDP convention, which meets April 11-13.

The Caucus has intervened energetically in the leadership contest. It has issued an extensive seven point program on education, a year-round active party, labor, housing, nationalization, women's rights, Vietnam and NATO. The Caucus has challenged, with considerable success, the four leadership contenders to state their views on the socialist perspective it advances.

While there has been much talk about socialism and grass roots politics from the three MLAs in the race — Berger, Barrett and Williams, the so-called "front-runners" — all three appear to tailor their policies to suit short-range electoral hustling.

Only John Conway, a radical student senator at Simon Fraser Uni-

versity and youth representative on the NDP provincial council, is campaigning for a socialist program and against what he calls the "parliamentary psychosis" of the present leadership.

Conway calls for a mass, involved, action-oriented party. "Those who argue that we should simply go for a traditional electoral victory should realize that even if in power in Victoria we will be able to go only as far as our active mass support will go. The centers of wealth and power will not sit idly by while we legislate socialism and independence into existence. . . We must have a political movement willing to engage in picketing, boycotts, marches, rallies and industry wide general strikes to enforce their government's programs."

Among his demands are nationalization without compensation of American-owned companies in B.C. and of source industries beginning with forestry and mining; workers' democracy, repeal of anti-labor legislation, a program of workers control and industrial democracy in the publicly owned sector; a massive program of social services including basic income payments for the unemployed and unemployable; democratization of the educational system, based on the principle of universal accessibility and faculty-student control instead of corporation control over the universities.

There are serious flaws in Conway's program. He does not raise any international issues such as NATO, NORAD or the Vietnam war and Canada's complicity in the war. These issues relate directly to the rounded approach he urges the party to adopt; moreover, it is on the provincial level that the party has proved most responsive to the anti-Vietnam war movement.

Conway also calls for an end to the practice of direct affiliation of trade unions to the party. "Such affiliations," he argues, "are a bureaucratic device to gain funds and the image of support from the workers. We must win the workers' support politically and recruit them directly to the party." Experience has shown however that the long and often arduous fight by socialist militants to get their unions to affiliate to the NDP has contributed immensely to

educating masses of workers to the nature of the conservative union bureaucracy, which includes within its ranks supporters of the capitalist parties.

Despite its weaknesses, Conway's platform coincides with many essential elements of the Socialist Caucus program. A strong vote for John Conway at the convention can provide a good basis for the future organization of the socialist left wing in the NDP around the Socialist Caucus. Conway himself is not a member of the Caucus, but his campaign demonstrates the real need for socialists to organize in the party to put forward their point of view and to provide a viable socialist alternative to the reformist leadership now at the helm of the B.C. party.

## **Contact us**

**MONTREAL.** Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 17 ouest, rue Ontario, Montréal 129, Québec. 849-1727.

**OTTAWA.** League for Socialist Action, 238 Arlington, Ottawa 4, Ont. 234-3130

**TORONTO.** League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont. 922-6665.

**RICHMOND HILL.** Workers Vanguard, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont.

**HAMILTON.** League for Socialist Action, Box 4324, Station D, Hamilton, Ont.

**EDMONTON.** League for Socialist Action, 10402-97 St., Edmonton, Alta. 424-7644.

**VANCOUVER.** League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St. Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924.



# B.C. Socialists Assail Douglas

In refreshing contrast to the Ottawa parliamentary caucus' support of NATO and NORAD, the Socialist Caucus in the B.C. NDP issued a statement on March 27 presenting a foreign policy truly independent of the U.S. and Canadian ruling classes.

"New Democratic Party members in British Columbia and across Canada," the Socialist Caucus declares, "must protest loudly and strongly the flagrant violation of NDP policy on Canadian membership in NATO and NORAD by NDP leader Tommy Douglas and the NDP representatives on the Commons Committee on Defense and External Affairs."

The statement describes the positions taken by the parliamentary caucus. "Only Lorne Nystrom, the youngest NDP member, opposed the alliances," it notes.

The statement continues:

"The policy of the NDP has been clearly formulated at delegated party conventions. The NDP is for the withdrawal of Canada from NATO if nuclear armed — which it is — and for the withdrawal of Canada from NORAD. The callous disrespect for membership decisions is bad enough. However, the gravity of these particular issues makes it much worse.

"We say we are for an independent foreign policy. We have criti-

cized Canadian complicity in Vietnam. Yet our leadership, under pressure from the Liberal government which supports the world-wide military apparatus of the U.S., buckles under and accepts membership for Canada in the central military alliance which enables the U.S. to carry out its aggression against the Vietnamese and its military operations elsewhere.

"We would have to be either fantastically naive or blind to accept the possibility of a "non-military" role for NATO. NATO is a military alliance controlled by the U.S. which is now escalating the Vietnam war and preparing to escalate the nuclear arms race with the installation of the ABM missile system. . .

"These questions are life and death questions which affect every Canadian just as much as the rising cost of living or the housing crisis. Leaders of the NDP across Canada must now reaffirm the opposition of the NDP to Canadian membership in NATO and NORAD and state their opposition to the ABM missile system.

"In British Columbia on the eve of the April 11-13 NDP convention, all the leadership candidates are now challenged to make their positions clear on these most important issues, before the NDP membership and the working people of B.C."

## TOWARDS THE 8-PAGE VANGUARD

### Only a Month to Go !

The *La Lutte/Vanguard* fund drive is approaching its halfway point, with less than a month left until the May 1st deadline. Our readers' response to the campaign to raise \$13,000 has been very good, and we have every hope of being able to begin publishing the 8-page expanded *Workers Vanguard* early in May.

The article on this page describes the other purpose of the fund that few *Vanguard* readers see or read — the French-language journal *La Lutte Ouvrière*, published by our

collaborators and comrades in Montreal. They are raising \$1,000 for the joint publications drive.

As of March 30, Toronto leads the list with \$1700 in cash sent in so far. Readers there have pledged some \$3,000 in addition.

For readers who do not live in one of the major cities, we have established a general category. The General's target is \$250.

Why not fill out the handy form below and send us your donation today?

Yes, I want to contribute to the campaign for the 8-page *Vanguard*!

Enclosed is \$.....

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... Phone .....

clip and send to 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont.





# THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 13, No. 16 (172) April 2, 1969

New Allies for La

## Teacher Picket

by John Riddell

A teachers strike! Unheard-of a few years ago, it is now on the agenda at many points across Canada.

In Saskatchewan, teachers have reacted to their failure in most areas to secure a new contract with a growing number of strikes. On April 15 from 230 to 330 were estimated to have walked out, while Liberal premier Thatcher fulminated against the clear threat that the strike would become province-wide.

...was rocked by a teachers

VIETNAM PROTEST. Joe Young addresses rally of 10,000 at Toronto's City Hall.

# Thousands Protest War, Support American GIs

## A New Upsurge in the Anti-War Movement

by The Editors

...Johnson has just served

...That's how

"The movement on President Johnson's NBC-TV began demonstrations which saw large ranks, heralded south of the border wave of anti-war. The Easter celebration of the war a clear program new focus on speakers in the sinister



MARCH FOR PEACE. Part of the crowd that demonstrated in Vancouver on April 6.

# Defense Fund to Aid SFU 114

VANCOUVER — A committee has been established to defend those who were arrested November 23 as a result of the occupation of the administration building at Simon Fraser University. The committee is now setting about to raise money and gather sponsorship.

Among those who have already lent their names to the committee are Lorne Nystrom, NDP MP; Tom Clarke, 1st vice-president, Local 217, IWA, who was jailed in 1966 for protesting a court injunction against picketing; and Professors C. Cook, H. Sharma, B. C. Clifford, and F. Kearns of Simon Fraser University.

Of the students who made a deal with the court and pleaded guilty

on reduced charges, 102 have now been sentenced with fines totalling almost \$26,000. One was sentenced to three months in prison. The seven who intend to plead not guilty are scheduled to appear in court later this month.

Besides raising funds for all 114 students charged in the SFU occupation, the new committee plans to disseminate information about the case. The statement of purpose says: "All documentation to date should be circulated and other material will be made available as it appears."

Contributions may be sent to the Committee to Aid the SFU 114, c/o Simon Fraser Student Society, SFU, Burnaby, B.C.

## TOWARDS THE 8-PAGE VANGUARD

### The Final Push is On!

There's only one week left to send in your donation to the campaign to double the size of the *Vanguard* to 8 pages. Supporters across the country assure us they'll reach the target of \$13,000 by May 1st. In anticipation of that, we're planning to make the next issue the first regular 8-pager, with a new, more attractive format.

The decision to launch the 8-pager is possible thanks to the contributions of our readers, our only source of revenue. But in some ways, too, it's also an act of faith, because when we set a target of \$13,000 for the La Lutte/Vanguard fund drive, it was on the assumption that we

would be paying customary second class mailing rates. The entirely unexpected and arbitrary decision of the Post Office to deprive us of second class postal rights is a serious blow to these plans.

However, while every other labor paper in the country is cutting back in response to Kierans' attack, we're expanding, on the grounds that an 8-pager is the minimum we must do in English Canada in this period of developing radicalization.

We hope you agree — and that you'll dig just that much deeper to help us not just reach the objective by May 1st, but to go over the top!

Yes, I want to contribute to the campaign for the 8-page *Vanguard*!

Enclosed is \$.....

Name .....

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clip and send to 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont.

From the VANGUARD:

# Labor Fights Back

Mid-March, 1959

**Support NFLD Loggers by  
24 Hour Work Stoppage**

Workers Vanguard — July 10, 1968

**Quebec Workers Sit In  
As Bosses Close Plant**

Mid-January, 1966

**West Coast Woodworkers  
Are Talking Up 30 for 40**

October, 1963

**SETS DANGEROUS UNION-BUSTING PRECEDENT  
Labor Can't Live with Gov't Trusteeship**

Mid-August, 1965

**Postal Strike Marks  
Labor Breakthrough**

By P. Kent

December 11, 1967

**UAW Pioneers in  
Wage Parity Fight**

July, 1966

**Labor Mobilizing  
to Defend Rights**

**WHICH WAY-OSHAWA  
OR PETERBOROUGH?**

By ROSS DOWSON

**B.C. Unionists  
Urge Defiance  
Of Injunctions**

**ELSEWHERE UNIONISM STAGNATES  
Quebec Labor Attracts New Forces**

By J. Rishy  
MONTREAL—The

April, 1965

**Action on Price Gouging  
Open the Books—Douglas**

by THE EDITORS



# The Struggle for a French McGill

by Walter Blumenthal

MONTREAL — The March 28 demonstration of close to 10,000 students and young workers demanding that McGill become a French university by 1972 was the biggest display of strength to date by the movement for French unilingualism in Quebec.

The march was organized by the militant CEGEP (junior college) sector of the student movement, in collaboration with the Ligue (formerly Mouvement) pour l'Intégration Scolaire (LIS), the movement to make French the basic language of instruction in all Quebec schools. The CEGEP students are graduating with few prospects of accommodation in the overcrowded French-language universities, and with few jobs available. To ease the crisis, they urge, McGill with all its facilities should be French — that is, placed at the service of the French-speaking majority in Quebec.

Such a demand is unacceptable to the powerful capitalist interests who sit on McGill's board of governors. They did everything in their power to block and discredit the march. An unparalleled hate campaign was launched in the mass media, designed to create an hysterical police-state atmosphere in which a peaceful protest could not, *must not* take place. They were particularly up tight because some McGill students, led by campus activist Stan Gray, helped organize the march. The McGill administration is trying to fire Gray for his radical activities.

As municipal and provincial police and RCMP were mobilized, Ottawa revealed that Premier Bertrand had asked the federal government about the availability of the Canadian Army!

As it turned out, the Army was on hand that night, but only "in reserve." In the face of such provocation, it is difficult to speculate what direction the march *might* have taken.

What did happen was that Stan Gray and LIS president Raymond Lemieux led about 10,000 whistling, singing and chanting young Québécois to the gates of McGill in defiance of a massive police mobil-

ization of over 1,000 cops. Although the march itself ended in some confusion, such a mobilization in these conditions has to be a remarkable testimony to the popularity of the demand for French unilingualism in Quebec, and to the ability of the movement for unilingualism to mobilize Québécois against their national oppression. It was, in fact, the first mass demonstration organized by the LIS, the movement which scored the first victory against anglicization at St-Léonard last year, and it signified an escalation of the struggle for a French-only school system in Quebec.

Standing that night before McGill campus — floodlit like a battlefield — one couldn't help contrasting its opulent facilities with the collection of old classical colleges which next year will be amalgamated under the name "Université de Québec." And when you consider that there is an equal number of English and French universities in Quebec; that the English minority of 17 percent of the population make up 42 percent of Quebec university students and receive 30 percent of government grants, although McGill is the richest university in Canada; and that 26 percent of McGill students come from outside Quebec anyway — then you understand why *Opération McGill* was so popular here.

You understand even more when the governors of the university declare that McGill must remain English "if we are to remain a great world university," because the corporations these men head up employ McGill's extensive research facilities to aid in the exploitation of Quebec's resources and people — in English.

Because it implies a challenge to the domination of Quebec by Anglo-Canadian and American monopolies, the demand for a French McGill is a hot issue. The Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions actively supported *Opération McGill*, appealing to its members to join the demonstration. It was a different story with the middle class nationalist organizations. The conservative *Société St-Jean-Baptiste* opposed the demon-

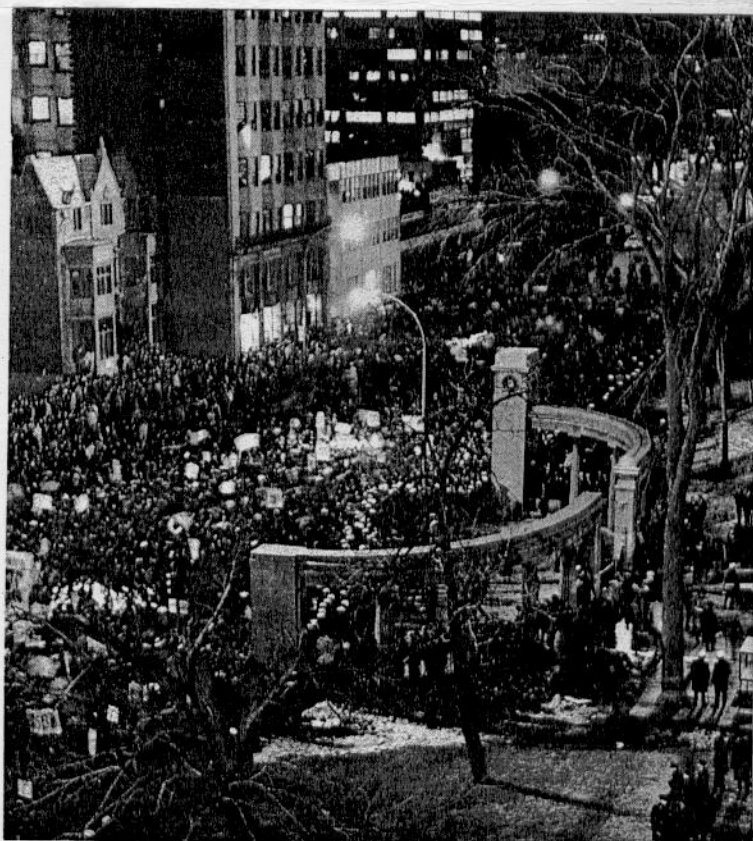


photo by Montreal Star-Canada Wide

**OPERATION MCGILL.** Solid lines of helmeted cops massed in front of McGill gates to prevent close to 10,000 Québécois youths from setting foot in this preserve of English privilege.

stration, and René Lévesque's Parti Québécois kept intact its record of opposition to the struggle for French unilingualism by declaring that the march was "against the political orientation, the principle of democratic action and the official program" of the PQ.

The Stalinist mouthpiece *Canadian Tribune* expressed a similar viewpoint when it labelled the demands of the unilingualists as "out-right racist and chauvinistic." The CP's misrepresentation that "the main purpose" of the demonstration was merely "to make McGill an integral part of Quebec" strangely echoed the Quebec Federation of Liberal Students, which denounced the march . . . and advanced the same slogan.

The Maoist groups went further,

declaring that the unilingualists were "accomplices of imperialism," "reactionaries" diverting the "real struggle" under the "racist" slogan of McGill Français.

A leaflet distributed at the march by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes forcefully answered these slanders: "Today, self-determination for the Québécois means the right to determine the language of education within the boundaries of our nation, the right to speak French on the job, the right to oppose forced assimilation. This is, and always will be, an elementary democratic right."

And the struggle for that right, as displayed in the successful *Opération McGill*, shows every sign of intensifying and going forward in the months to come.



# ***May Day Rally***



featured speakers:

**GERRY GALLAGHER**

**GORDON VICHERT**

***Thursday, May 1, 8 p.m.***

**COLLEGE OF EDUCATION**

**371 Bloor St. West at Spadina**



# MAY DAY 1969

What does May Day mean to us this year? It marks the 50th anniversary of the Winnipeg General Strike, an historic demonstration of the power and militancy of Canadian working people. It marks the 83rd anniversary of the first May Day, when American unionists launched the struggle for the eight hour day.

It means renewing the traditions of 80 years of May Days around the world, celebrations of unity, solidarity and determination to fight for a better future.

Today growing numbers of Canadians are turning their eyes towards the goals of equality, democracy and social justice. Our united May Day rally will feature entertainment and speakers of the differing points of view within our sponsoring committee. Its purpose is to give new life to these, the ideals of May Day.

ANDRE BEKERMAN, Secretary, Ad Hoc May Day Committee

## SPONSORS:

Anne Barratt, High Park NDP  
Tom Barratt, Local 1080, Painters Union  
Andre Bekerman, Local 1000, CUPE  
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Dr. James Endicott, Canadian Peace Congress  
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Gordon Vichert, Ontario New Democratic Party  
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Joe Young, Vietnam Mobilization Committee  
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# May Day, labor's int'l holiday

by Joan Campana

May Day, the first of May, belongs to the working people. On this day the world over, workers declare their international solidarity and class awareness.

May Day was born in struggle in the United States in the early 1800s, and grew up around the universal demand for an eight-hour working day: "eight hours work, eight hours rest, and eight hours recreation."

Its history is one of militant struggle. It began in Chicago in 1886 when a demonstration held on May 4 at the now famous Haymarket Square to protest a brutal police attack upon a previous meeting of striking workers, was itself attacked. The result was the deaths of both workers and police, and the hanging of some of Chicago's labor leaders. The anniversary commemoration of the Haymarket attack was held on May Day, 1887. From then on, May Day was the international day for labor.

The struggle grew, both in the U.S. and around the world. In 1890, Frederick Engels, the collaborator of Karl Marx, wrote:

"... The proletariat of Europe and America is holding a review of its forces; it is mobilized for the first time as one army, under one flag, and fighting for one immediate aim: an eight-hour working day, established by legal enactment. . ."

The Second International adopted the following resolution in 1893: "The demonstration on May First for the 8-hour day must serve . . . as a demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions through social change and thus enter on the road . . . to international peace."

In the early years of May Day, the capitalists and turncoat labor "leaders" tried to smash the movement. Later they tried to emasculate it, to bypass it, by having the workers observe a festive, spring-picnic style Labor Day in September, and by officially declaring May 1 as Child Health Day. "At the same time," a resolution of the American Federation of Labor read, "May 1 will no longer be known as either strike day or Communist day."

Today, most Canadian workers have the eight-hour day, won after long and bitter struggle. But the tradition of May Day stands firm. It is a day when we stop to consider anew the great promise of the labor movement for the future of mankind, and to rededicate ourselves to the great struggles which lie ahead.

This year, in a number of Canadian cities, there will be modest meetings or banquets to celebrate the international workers holiday. In Toronto, for the first time in years, the left wing movements such as the League for Socialist Action, the Communist party, representatives of the New Democratic party and the trade unions have joined in sponsoring a united May Day rally. Among the speakers will be the secretary of the Ontario NDP, John Harney. In addition, supporters of the *Workers Vanguard* there and across the country will be holding celebrations around that date to mark the successful windup of the drive to sustain and expand the revolutionary workers press, *La Lutte Ouvrière* and the *Vanguard*.



May Day, 1969

Strangely enough, while May Day is beginning to come into its own among progressive-thinking workers in capitalist Canada, in the bureaucratized workers states, where May Day is an established national holiday, the celebrations will be somewhat subdued this year. In Prague, Czechoslovakia, the usual marchpast has been cancelled, for fear of promoting demonstrations against the Kremlin occupation! The Toronto *Star* reports from Moscow that the Soviet military is pressing for a parade on May 9 — the anniversary of the victory over Hitler — instead of the customary May Day parade in Red Square.

In contrast, in Western Europe the workers of France and Italy will be marching in great numbers on May Day celebrating the peak year of militancy and strike struggles since the Second World War, while in Britain, there is talk of a forthcoming general strike this month to protest the Wilson government's anti-labor policies.

Truly, May Day retains its revolutionary significance!



# Left campaigns at B.C. NDP meet

by John Steele

VANCOUVER — We are in an "age of revolt," T. C. Douglas stated in his speech to over 1400 delegates and alternates to the April 11-13 B.C. NDP convention. The NDP must give answers to youth who are revolting against a society manipulated and controlled by an "economic oligarchy" where decisions are made in board rooms, not parliament, where "law and order" is used to repress dissent — a society which carries on a war in Vietnam.

An important point to make — but one which went unheeded by this biggest-ever B.C. NDP convention. While reflecting the growth and power of the NDP and the possibility of an NDP government, the convention buried itself in the rituals of a leadership contest which, instead of crystalizing a debate over "which way for the NDP," was used by the convention organizers and NDP leadership to exclude almost all meaningful discussions on resolutions submitted by the constituencies and affiliated union locals.

When it was all over the new leader was MLA Tom Berger, a lawyer. The easily predicted results gave Berger 411 votes, Dave Barrett MLA 375, MLA Bob Williams, supported by outgoing leader Strachan, 130, and John Conway, SFU teaching assistant running on a socialist program, 44. Conway was later elected to the position of fourth vice-president with 273 votes.

In the discussion that did take place, delegates defeated motions for a referendum leadership ballot and a membership fee increase, and narrowly defeated one calling for a discussion on the NATO policy of the party.

The most significant discussion centered around the education crisis and the arrest of 114 Simon Fraser students last November, protesting B.C. university admissions policies. Although the delegates did not give direct backing to the defense efforts of the



Tom Berger, B.C. NDP Leader

114, a resolution was passed supporting the actions of the students and condemning the use of the police and the courts in "an essentially university affair" over an "essentially political dispute."

Many delegates expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of policy discussion. However, the dissent was unorganized and unable to crystalize under the overbearing impact of the leadership campaign.

Organized opposition to this trend came from the Socialist Caucus and John Conway. Campaigning for the leadership and supported by the Socialist Caucus, Conway attempted to place before the delegates the burning need for the NDP to adopt a socialist program and become a "socialist movement" deeply involved in the struggles of the working people outside the parliamentary chambers. In contrast to the other candidates who were knee-deep in election gimmickry, Conway passed out to the delegates a series of position papers outlining a

socialist direction for the NDP.

The program distributed by the Socialist Caucus called on the delegates to implement a "socialist program" through a year-round active party, support of the student movement, defense of the independence of the labor movement from the government, public ownership of the mines and forests and the housing industry, NDP municipal politics and a solid campaign against the Vietnam war, NATO, NORAD and the *threatened use of Canadian troops in Vietnam* as counterrevolutionary "peacekeepers."

A caucus statement (published in the April 7 *Vanguard*) called on the convention to reaffirm its opposition to NATO in the light of the recent expression of support for this imperialist alliance by federal leader Douglas and the parliamentary caucus.

The weakness of the organized socialist forces was evident in both the inability of the Socialist Caucus to alter the direction of the convention and the failure of those grouped around John Conway, mainly students from Simon Fraser University, to see the central task, the building of the organized socialist forces in the NDP with the perspective of developing a socialist program and leadership. For example, although Conway delivered a powerful election speech to the convention, he did not attempt to intervene in the discussions on the floor.

At the same time the critical attitude in NDP ranks across the country toward the present reformist direction was evident in the interest shown in the Socialist Caucus literature table and the 50-odd delegates who asked to be placed on the caucus mailing list. Early in the convention, the delegates voted to permit the caucus to set up the table in the face of opposition by convention officials. Interest in the *Workers Vanguard* was high, with 165 copies sold in the convention rotunda.

Sensing this critical mood, the party's new leader Tom Berger opened his post-election campaign by calling for the public ownership of the B.C. Telephone and the hiking of taxes on the forest industry.

**Hugo Blanco**

## Blanco faces jungle prison

Hugo Blanco, the Trotskyist peasant leader in Peru, is threatened with being sent to a prison camp in the jungle region of eastern Peru. The completely isolated camp is located in a hot humid area noted for the insects that make life virtually unbearable for those confined to the camp. Lacking in medical facilities, with prisoners at the complete mercy of brutal guards, it is obvious that anyone sentenced to being held there has few chances for surviving long.

This month, Blanco marks the beginning of his seventh year in prison. He was arrested in 1963 after an extensive manhunt by the regime, which feared him for his work in organizing the peasants to take over the land which was rightfully theirs. In 1966, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison, and escaped the death penalty only because of a worldwide campaign on his behalf that enlisted the support of, among others, the Quebec Federation of Labor and the labor councils in Halifax and Calgary.

Protests should be sent to the Peruvian military dictator, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, Presidential Palace, Lima, Peru.

Copies of protests should be sent to CODDEH (Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos), Casilla 10149, Lima, Peru.

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# Labor political action

by Dick Fidler

This is the last in the series of notes and articles highlighting the Vanguard's coverage in the past of major developments in the labor-socialist movement. The series has run concurrently with this year's drive to raise \$13,000 to help sustain the Vanguard and La Lutte Ouvrière, its sister publication in Quebec, during the coming year, and to launch the expanded 8-page Vanguard beginning this issue.

The NDP decision to run a full slate of candidates on the party label in the forthcoming Toronto civic elections is a vindication of the position of the *Workers Vanguard*, which has consistently advanced the concept that the labor movement should campaign for office at all levels of government.

The first issue of the *Vanguard*, in December 1955, featured the campaign of our editor, Ross Dowson, for mayor of Toronto. We contested the highest post in city government to present an anti-capitalist alternative to the working people of Toronto, who had been deprived of an opportunity to vote against the big business candidates by the continuing failure of the labor movement to move into this vital political arena.

The 1955 campaign was just one of similar campaigns in Toronto since the Second World War by supporters of the *Vanguard* and its predecessor *Labor Challenge*. Our comrades have also contested provincial and federal elections — such as Hastings-Frontenac in 1957, against Tory External Affairs Minister Sidney Smith, or Colchester-Hants, against newly-elected Tory leader Robert Stanfield in 1967 — where the CCF or NDP failed to field a candidate against the big business parties.

These campaigns, undertaken at great expense and sacrifice by our supporters, were a concrete expression of how seriously we view the necessity for independent labor political action. For us, this is a principle which distinguishes the revolutionary socialists from the reformist bureaucrats in the labor movement who have often neglected the vital task of building an independent working class alternative to the big business parties, instead maneuvering to win positions of favor and influence in the Liberal and Tory parties and their governments.

For many years, the struggle for a labor party found expression in the attempts by trade union militants and socialists to get the unions to affiliate to the Cooperative

Commonwealth Federation (CCF). In the 1940s and early '50s, the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) actually did vote to support the CCF and donate funds to it, in contrast to the policy of the more conservative craft-dominated Trades and Labor Congress, whose leaders were oriented primarily to the Liberal cabinet.

The merger of the TLC and CCL in 1956 to form the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) laid the organizational basis for united

"The new labor party, based as it will be on the trade unions, opens up an entirely new perspective for the left. Insofar as can be ascertained at this time, it is within the new labor party that the forces for the Canadian socialist revolution will be prepared — it will be there that the struggle for a new leadership of the working class will be fought out. . . The socialists . . . must seek to establish their forces as the socialist wing of the new labor party."

*Workers Vanguard*, March 1960

labor political action in English Canada. However, the CCF, having passed through a decade or more of steady electoral decline, did not appear as an appropriate vehicle for the labor party development.

Thus a 1958 CLC convention resolution projected the formation of a broad political realignment based on the trade unions, the old CCF and a hoped-for split of "liberally-minded" elements from the Liberal party.

The *Workers Vanguard* greeted the move to build a new political party, but argued that it could only go forward as a party relevant to the working people if it was a class party, a labor party, putting forward a clear socialist alternative to the capitalist political machines. We called on trade union militants to get their locals to affiliate to the new party, and we intervened in the programmatic discussions right from the beginning around a broad program of far-reaching socialist demands.

In 1961, on the eve of the new party's founding convention, supporters of the *Vanguard* across Canada launched the League for Socialist Action, as an instrument to campaign for the revolutionary socialist viewpoint within the NDP.

In our view, the NDP, as the party of all



which support it and wish to participate in building the labor party. The present NDP leadership, however, has repeatedly barred from membership revolutionary socialists who hold views to the left of their own narrow liberal-reformist concepts. On several occasions socialists have been expelled from the B.C. and Ontario sections, and in B.C., the provincial executive even proscribed the *Vanguard*.

Nonetheless, our support of the NDP is not conditional upon agreement with this or that policy of the present leadership; still less, its wholly inadequate program and leadership. We support the NDP unconditionally as a working class party against the capitalist parties, and we see the political development of the Canadian workers taking place within the NDP for a whole period to come. Socialists, in our view, have an obligation to participate in that process, to intervene in the party with their program and thereby build support for their ideas and experience for the struggles to come.

In this respect, the forces grouped around the Socialist Caucus have played an increasingly important role in orienting NDP activists toward socialist conclusions, showing the path the party must take if it is to go forward to power in Ottawa and the provinces.

The *Workers Vanguard* is the only labor paper to fully report these developments in the NDP. That in itself makes it indispensable to anyone who hopes to function effectively in the party.



# Abortion bill insufficient

by Joan Newbigging

At long last the government is turning its attention to some of the many injustices enshrined in the Criminal Code. Amendments to the Code, now before the Commons, cover a wide range of subjects — from lotteries to homosexuality to drunken driving.

Parts of these amendments are of burning concern to millions of women across Canada. They relate directly to the right of women to control their own lives. Under the present terms of the Code both birth control and abortion are illegal.

Today, under the terms of this law, Canadian women are denied access to the advanced birth control techniques developed by modern day science, and to the relatively simple operation of abortion, as carried out in a modern hospital.

It is estimated that about 35,000 illegal abortions are performed in Toronto every year. In the U.S. it is estimated that of approximately one million illegal abortions performed annually, the death rate is from 5,000 to 10,000. The corresponding death rate in Toronto would be from 170 to 350 every year.

These are shocking figures that indicate the desperate situation in which hundreds of thousands of Canadian women find themselves every year. For various reasons unprepared to have children, they are forced either to abort themselves or to search out backroom abortionists. These may be expensive and qualified (costing from \$400 to \$1,000 per abortion in Toronto) or fly-by-night quacks.

But these figures do not tell of the enormous social misery that exists, of the pain and of the suffering, of the warped and shattered lives. They do not tell of the thousands of unwanted children that are born every year.

What changes does the government propose to make and how would they alter this situation? First of all the government is proposing to remove the section on birth control from the Criminal Code and place it under the Food and Drug Act, legalizing the distribution of birth control information and devices and putting advertising under government control.

The key question, however, is not only

legalization but also education. Legalization itself is not very meaningful unless it is accompanied by a widespread government sponsored educational program on birth control.

Secondly on the question of abortion, the amendments call for the setting up of abortion committees which would decide whether or not a woman's health or life was endangered. On that basis alone they could authorize abortion.

The decision would be in the hands of "experts" — and, we might anticipate, all too often opinionated, conservative "experts." How many women would rather face the hazards of backroom abortions to the time-consuming and demoralizing treatment they might expect from such a committee?

Why should the state, in the form of these abortion committees, still have the right to decide whether or not a woman will bear a child? Why shouldn't the woman decide for herself?

The thousands of abortions that are performed annually point to the fact that Canadian women, on the whole, regard this as their right. And despite all the hazards and difficulties that the government throws in their paths, they are prepared to uphold this as their right.

The amendments on abortion proposed by the government ignore this reality and, as such, will only continue to perpetuate the desperate situation that now exists.

The backroom racket will continue. Hundreds of women will still die every year trying to escape from unwanted pregnancies. Thousands of unwanted children will still be born.

Moreover, the amendments will discriminate against working-class women. A brief presented to the Commons Health and Welfare Committee by the Canadian Labor Congress stressed how wealthier women would tend to be able to take better advantage of the committee system. The brief states, "our only conclusion is that abortion must be made available legally, upon the sole request of the woman, as the only practical method of ending much suffering, injury and disease which presses upon those of limited economic means."

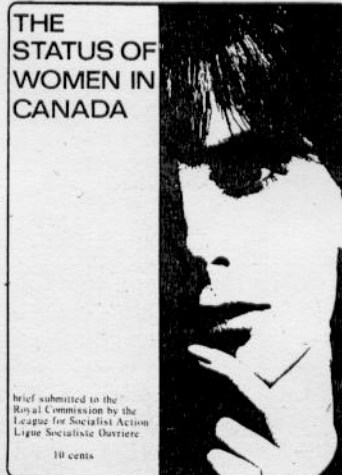
Tied in with this is the need to make birth control information and devices avail-

able to all women. After legalizing contraceptive devices, the government must take the initiative to establish state-financed community birth control centres throughout the country.

There can be no talk of equality for women without the recognition of their right to control their own lives. A basic aspect of this is the right to decide whether or not to be a mother; the right of access to birth control information and devices, the right to decide to have an abortion.

## The Status of Women in Canada ..... 10

The LSA/LSO view, as  
presented to the government's  
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## BUILDING THE SOCIALIST PRESS

### Now let's close the cash gap!

Here's the scoreboard as we entered the last days of the *Workers Vanguard/La Lutte Ouvrière* 1969 fund drive. As can be seen, our readers have pledged almost enough to reach our goal of \$13,000, which is the minimum we need to publish the 8-page *Vanguard* and *La Lutte Ouvrière* during the next 12 months. But there's still a rather large "solvability gap" between promise and performance — between what we've been promised and what is actually paid up in

good hard cash. As of April 30 when we went to press, none of the areas had paid its quota or pledge in full. However, we're hoping that part of the problem is simply due to the deteriorating postal service, and that with the collections from the May Day banquets and rallies we'll go over the top.

A final report tying up the results of the drive will be carried in the next issue. Meanwhile, let's close that gap!

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Toronto .....	\$ 5,500	\$ 4,352
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**Dockyard 16 sit-in to protest visit by U.S. submarine to Esquimalt.**

## Thirteen sentenced for sit-in protesting U. S. submarine

VICTORIA — Nine young people have been fined \$50 each for having participated with seven others in a sit-in protest March 8-9 at HMC Dockyard at Esquimalt, B.C. against the presence of a U.S. submarine. The nine were originally charged with committing mischief, but later pleaded guilty to a reduced charge of obstructing. Three others were

acquitted and four juveniles drew fines of \$15 each.

It is rumored that the Dockyard 16 were offered a deal like that given the students arrested last November at Simon Fraser University — a reduction in charges if they pleaded guilty. In this case, the deal was on condition that not more than three pleaded not guilty.



# Mass rally set for May 31 to protest anti-labor laws

Everything is building up to make the projected May 31 mobilization on Queen's Park in Toronto a powerful demonstration of labor opposition to union-busting and union-busting government legislation.

The proposed action comes out of the highly successful March 29 Hamilton mobilization initiated by the Building Trades Council as a protest against the anti-labor Rand Report. The fact that the official leadership of the labor council failed to get behind that action gave the march of an estimated 5,000 unionists a strong character of protest against

the do-nothing policies of the trade union bureaucracy not only with regards to anti-labor legislation but with regards to increasingly oppressive taxes, continually mounting living costs, the crying shortage of housing, etc., etc.

The wide open meeting held on May 7 in Hamilton to prepare the Queen's Park action was attended by some 50 leading activists from the building trades unions, Steel, the Teamsters, the United Electrical Workers, and others.

Terry Frazer reported that the St. Catharines Labor Council, the Teamsters Ontario Joint Council, the UE National

Council, the Oshawa GM Local of the UAW and the Toronto Building Trades all endorse May 31. This undercut any possible gloom over the fact that the Hamilton Labor Council has opted out with the excuse that a Toronto action is outside its jurisdiction and that the Ontario Federation of Labor leadership has excused itself because of difficulties of meeting in time to consider it. The meeting greeted with great enthusiasm the report that \$10,000 has been budgeted, 20,000 buttons have been prepared, and at least 150,000 leaflets will be circulated.

On May 14 a meeting will be held in

the Toronto King Edward Hotel to build up the action in that area. The suggested themes of the rally are: opposition to the Rand Report, for the outlawing of injunctions, and for a bill of rights for labor. But it is obvious in the light of the most recent price hoists and the continued housing crisis that it will transcend these demands and even pose the question of independent labor political action through the NDP. It is proposed that all forces rally at the city hall square to move off onto Queen's Park, the site of the legislature, at 11 on Saturday, May 31.

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Labor party p. 3**

**The myth of  
woman's  
'inferiority' p. 5**

## workers Vanguard

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Young Socialists picket Toronto's City Hall to protest police shooting of unarmed youth.

## Cops shoot, kill youth - Disarm the police!

The shooting of an unarmed immigrant youth by a Toronto police officer has brought forth renewed demands that the cops be disarmed and their actions be subjected to the control of a civilian committee elected by the citizens.

Angelo Nobrega, 20, who came to Canada from Portugal five years ago, was shot to death by a detective May 4. According to Nobrega's two brothers, who were with him, it began when two men pulled up beside their car at an intersection and told them to drive to a nearby police station. The car was unmarked, the men



TEACHERS STRIKE. Protestant school teachers in Montreal held a one-day strike recently to back demands for a contract and equal authority with school boards in decisions on work load, course content and teaching methods. Thousands of Quebec teachers, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, marched on legislature May 14 to present demands. See story page 7.

## Socialist contests French presidency



Alain Krivine

Alain Krivine, a leading figure in the revolutionary movement that sparked last year's May-June worker-student revolt in France, has entered the campaign for the French presidency.

Krivine is the candidate of the Ligue Communiste which was founded last month in a conference that brought together a sizeable grouping of militants who had played key roles in the revolutionary crisis last year. Krivine rose to prominence as a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth), an organization banned by de Gaulle. His campaign will serve to publicize the revolutionary socialist alternative to broad masses of French workers.

Thirty French intellectuals, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, have signed an open letter supporting Krivine. His campaign, the statement says, is "an opportunity for the new forces born in May-June, 1968, to make themselves heard by this time using means provided for them by bourgeois legality."

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(See page 8)

## **... Protest**

(continued from page 1)

without uniform. The boys, who say they had "no idea they were police," ignored the order, but were stopped soon after by the two plainclothesmen. Angelo was shot by Det. Kevin Boyd after getting out of the car at Boyd's request. Angelo's brothers, the only eyewitnesses, say there was no scuffle, that Boyd drew his gun, cocked it and fired while Angelo was standing back from him. Police claim it was "accidental," and have neither suspended Boyd nor launched an investigation.

The shooting has aroused the city's Portuguese community, many of whom came to Canada to escape Salazar's fascist police state. 300 of them attended Nobrega's funeral. The chairman of the Portuguese Immigrant Aid Society reports he has affidavits proving the false arrest and beating of 16 and 17 year old boys like Angelo Nobrega. Many other citizens, particularly immigrants, Afro-Americans and youth, testify to countless incidents of police harassment and brutality.

Angelo Nobrega, who had committed no crime, lies dead. The man who shot him

## **shooting**

remains at large on our streets — with a gun. Will he ever face trial? Will the Toronto Police Commission take firm action against such cases of police violence?

These are some questions that were posed by the Toronto Young Socialists in an open letter to city council. The YS picketed city hall May 7, then attended the council meeting to demand an immediate investigation of the shooting, and action on two proposals: that the cops be disarmed, and that the police commission be replaced with an elected body of citizens whose meetings are public. They were forcibly ejected by security guards and police.

The YS open letter noted:

"The Toronto Police Commission has a reputation for protecting police who attack citizens. No wonder — for this committee is an appointed body totally tied into the police and court system. Both its chairman and vice-chairman are judges. Under their control, police have been consistently used to break workers strikes, harass students, attack anti-war demonstrations and violate the civil rights of citizens."





photo by A. Mintz

Joan Newbigging addresses Toronto May Day rally.

# May Day celebrated in rallies and banquets across Canada

by Arnie Mintz

In major cities across Canada, May Day, the traditional international holiday of labor, was celebrated by the members and supporters of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière with meetings and banquets.

The rallies also marked the end of the successful financial appeal to double the size of the *Workers Vanguard* to eight pages. Supporters of the *Vanguard* and its French-language co-thinker in Quebec, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, contributed the last few hundreds of dollars at the May Day festivities, to take us over the top of our goal of \$13,000.

In Vancouver and Edmonton, the featured speaker was Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO, while Arthur Young, chairman of the League, spoke in Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton and Montreal (where the LSO and *La Lutte* inaugurated their new headquarters at 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine).

Dowson and Young were participants in the recent world congress of the Fourth International held in Europe. They discussed the new rise in the world revolution which we have experienced during the past few years, and stressed the role that the worldwide forces assembled around the Fourth International, the only world organization of revolutionary socialists, would play in the struggles of workers and students that lie ahead.

In Toronto as well, the first ever united May Day rally was held on the night of May 1st. The audience of 350 heard representatives from the labor movement, New Democratic Party, League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, Black Liberation Front and Communist party. Joan Newbigging, education director of the LSA/LSO, spoke on the significance of the new rise of mass struggles in the three sectors of the advancing world revolution — the colonial and semi-colonial world, the workers states and the advanced capitalist countries. She paid tribute to the courageous struggle of the Czechoslovakians for socialist democracy and an end to the bureaucratic misrule of the Stalinists.

Ironically, in France, where worker and student revolt created a revolutionary situation exactly one year ago, the Stalinized French Communist party canceled the scheduled May Day march of French workers. The police department promptly obliged by banning all demonstrations. As they did last June, the CP tops are seeking to divert growing social unrest into the electoral arena, and off the streets where it might quickly develop into a revolutionary confrontation with the regime. But Canadian radio stations reported that "roving bands of young Trotskyists defied the ban by holding lightning demonstrations in Paris."

# Unionists, professors appeal for aid to arrested students

Prominent university and trade union figures are seeking to raise \$40,000 to defend the 114 students arrested in the occupation last fall of Simon Fraser University. The Committee to Aid the SFU 114 has launched a cross-country appeal for sponsors and financial support.

The money will be used to defend the eight young people now appearing in court following their plea of not guilty on charges of obstruction, and to raise the fines to keep out of jail the others who pleaded guilty and were sentenced. Fines total \$26,000. One of the arrested youth was sentenced to three months in jail.

The chairman of the Committee to Aid the SFU 114 is Bob Clair, editor of the Vancouver IWA local's newspaper, *The Barker*. Among the committee's sponsors are Lorne Nystrom, MP, Tom Clark, 1st vice-president of the IWA, John Hecker, president of the Nelson, Trail and district Labor Council, and a number of professors

at SFU and the University of British Columbia.

In addition to raising money, the committee will disseminate information around the case. Its statement of purpose says the main concern "will be to defend the students' right to take action around their demands, and to vindicate those who have been charged as 'lawbreakers' for doing so."

The students' demands centered around making B.C. universities accessible to all qualified students; joint student-faculty control over admissions and an end to discrimination against applicants for admission; and an increase in school construction.

The committee plans to publish a pamphlet on the case and to make available posters and buttons for distribution and sale across Canada. Those wishing to aid this work are urged to contact: Isolde Belfont, c/o Committee to Aid the SFU 114, 1977 W. 3rd, Ste. 204, Vancouver 9, B.C. The committee meets Thursdays at 8 p.m. at the above address.

## New pamphlet tells the truth about SFU 114

**WE ARE NOT GUILTY!** a pamphlet. 35¢. Available from Committee to Aid the SFU 114, c/o 1977 W. 3rd, Ste. 204, Vancouver 9, B.C.

WE ARE NOT GUILTY! Hot off the press, this neatly printed pamphlet is jam-packed with "the facts about the case of the 114 students arrested during the Simon Fraser University occupation November 23, 1968."

Written with an introduction by Bob Clair (chairman of the Committee to Aid the SFU 114, and 2nd vice-president of Local 217 of the IWA), the pamphlet gives background information about the power structure at SFU, the four demands of the SFU students, the "Not Guilty" statement of the 114 members who refused to go along with a deal to plead guilty in return for reduced charges, and information on the sentencing of those who pleaded guilty.

The Committee to Aid the SFU 114 have also made up a large, eye-catching "Keep the Cops Off Campus" button sporting a picture of K. R. Waehorn's famous cartoon of Strand calling in the cops with Cobb's brute cop in behind.

The pamphlet sells for 35¢; the button 50¢. Proceeds go to the fund-raising project of the committee to defray \$26,000 in fines and further legal expenses.

by P.C.

## Contact us

**to know what socialists  
are doing in your area**

**MONTREAL.** Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, Québec. 861-3018.

**OTTAWA.** League for Socialist Action, 365½ Bank St., Room 7, Ottawa 4, Ont. 234-2179 or 235-2141.

**TORONTO.** League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 189, Ont. 922-6665.

**RICHMOND HILL.** League for Socialist Action, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont.

**HAMILTON.** League for Socialist Action, Box 4324, Station D, Hamilton, Ont. 861-3018.

**EDMONTON.** League for Socialist Action, 10402-97 St., Edmonton, Alta. 424-7644.

**VANCOUVER.** League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St., Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924.

# **The Winnipeg General Strike**

*(from Workers' Vanguard, May 1969)*

by Gary Porter

Winnipeg, 1919 — 50 years ago this month. Third largest city in Canada — 170,000 people. For 41 tense and exhilarating days, the city was solid in the iron grip of a general strike. For 41 days, a Central Strike Committee of elected representatives of the working people took charge — and without bosses or boss politicians, the workers ran the city themselves. The Winnipeg General Strike was the biggest demonstration of labor's power this country has yet seen. How did it happen, and what can we learn from it today?

## **Origins**

World War I, 1914-18. A war among the great capitalist nations to divide the world for profits. The workers paid the price. 60,000 Canadian boys killed, 225,000 wounded.

After the war the soldiers came home to unemployment and declining real wages. Prices had risen 80 percent while average wages had risen only 18 percent. And now the government was taking us into a new war against the workers government established in Russia in the 1917 October revolution.

Meeting in Calgary in the spring of 1919, a conference of the entire Western labor movement reflected a new upsurge of labor action. The 234 delegates called for the creation of One Big Union to encompass all the industrial workers. Other resolutions called for a general strike beginning June 1, "should the allies persist in their attempts" to overthrow the new Bolshevik government of Soviet Russia, or the revolutionary Spartacist-led struggle of the German workers, and in support of the Canadian workers' fight for the six hour day and the five day week."

## **Strike Begins**

On May 1, metal trades workers in Winnipeg strike the Vulcan Iron Works, Dominion Bridge and the Manitoba Iron Works, demanding a nine-hour day, a wage increase and recognition of their Metal Trades Council. The Building Trades Council also strikes. They have been negotiating since February for a 20 cent wage increase and recognition.

On May 6, the strikers appeal for help to the Labor Council, whose affiliates vote, 11,000 to 500 for general strike. On Thursday, May 15, 27,000 workers respond to the call for general strike. 8,000 more will join in the next few days. Ninety-five unions vote to strike. Even the police vote 149 to 11 for strike, but remain on-duty upon the appeal of the newly constituted Strike Committee.

The new Committee is faced with a thousand and one tasks. The workers have ground the city to a complete halt — now they must re-establish vital services under their own, new-found authority. Waterworks employees go back to maintain sufficient pressure for household use. Staffs are supplied for hospitals. The Committee meets with the frightened City Council to plan



milk and bread distribution. The delivery carts begin to move — but now they bear signs, "By Authority of the Strike Committee."

The Women's Labor League sets up a kitchen for striking girls. Funds are collected at mass meetings. Anyone without funds but with a ticket from the Strike Relief Committee is fed. 1,200 to 1,500 meals are served daily.

Jubilant demonstrations fill the streets, rallies flood the parks. Exhilarated workers rejoice in their awesome power and solidarity.

Workers want news and they want their comrades to know about their struggle. But the pressmen are on strike. The union supplies volunteers to print *Western Labor News*, a daily paper with an editor and a censor committee appointed by the Strike Committee.

The city is calm, the strike solid. But the bosses are desperately organizing around the Citizens' Committee of 1,000. In cahoots with the leaders of three veterans organizations they call a meeting of returned soldiers to win support. The vets howl them down and declare support for the strike and elect delegates to the strike committee.

Messages of solidarity pour in from all over the continent. Sympathy strikes break out across the country. Railwaymen in Montreal, a general strike in Amherst, N.S., 12,000 go out in Toronto, 60,000 in Vancouver, 41 unions strike in Calgary, 5,000 metal trades workers go out in Victoria.

The Central Strike Committee in Winnipeg, composed of three delegates from 95 unions and five members from the Trades and Labor Council, begins to add delegates from other cities. Its 15 man executive works day and night.

## **Counter-attack**

The federal government launches its counter-offensive. Senator Robertson, minister of labor, issues an ultimatum to the postal workers. If they do not return to work by May 26, and promise never again to strike and sever connections with the organized labor movement, they will lose their jobs, their pensions and their right to hold a government job at any time in the future. Only 16 return to work. On June 6, the House of Commons, on the motion of Justice Minister Arthur Meighen (later Tory prime minister), amends the Immigration Act in record time — 40 minutes. British-born citizens may be deported without trial by jury, appeal or even the presence of the accused. Rumors spread that the act will be used against the strike leaders, some of whom came from Britain.

When Winnipeg police refuse to sign a pledge not to ally themselves with the city labor movement, all are fired and the city hires cops at six dollars a day to patrol streets in groups of six.

Unable to break the strikers' solidarity, the capitalist establishment takes drastic action. On June 6, the strike leaders are roused from their beds by the Royal North West Mounted Police and spirited off to Stony Mountain Penitentiary. Armstrong, Ivens, Russell, Bray, Heaps, Queen and five others are charged with seditious libel and conspiracy to overthrow the government. Case remanded eight days, no bail. Five hundred special police and 50 Mounties raid labor halls seizing files, records, books. June 21, the vets call for a massive silent protest parade. The marchers are formed up on Main near the City Hall when 50 horsemen, half in khaki, half RNWMP (*Royal North West Mounted Police, the quasi-military forerunner of today's RCMP -- ed.*) ride onto Main with baseball bats flailing. The crowd opens up, lets them pass, closes. The RNWMP reform and charge again, pistols blazing into the crowd. One worker is murdered, 30 injured, over 100 arrested. The city is declared under martial law; troops patrol the streets with rifles and fixed bayonets.

The government bans the daily strike paper. J. S. Woodsworth, its editor since Ivens' arrest, is arrested and charged with seditious libel for the publication of two verses from the Book of Isaiah. F. J. Dixon tries to carry on with the publication of the *Western Star*, but he too is arrested. The strike committee continues with the *Enlightener*.

On June 25 the *Enlightener* announces that the Committee has called an end to the strike the next day. For over a week thousands refuse to give in, but the great strike ends. The official history prepared by the strike committee tersely reports its reason for ending the strike: 1) the funds have run out, 2) purported recognition by the employers of the Metal Trades Council, 3) government promises to ensure reinstatement of all strikers.

## Meaning

The Winnipeg General Strike was not an attempt at socialist revolution. Its specific demands did not go beyond the limited aims of union recognition and better wages. But there is no denying either that its leaders placed great hope — justifiable hope — in the general strike weapon to win major gains for labor. At the Western Labor Conference in Calgary, these men had called for the 30 hour week and other clearly anti-capitalist demands. They had posed industrial unionism (the "One Big Union") and the general strike as the means to win these demands.

Winnipeg vindicated their confidence in the power and strength of the workers. In spite of its limited demands, the strike lasted for almost six weeks. Never before had Canadian labor shown such ability to unite in persistent struggle.

What was not yet understood in 1919, however, was that the full potential of the general strike — which poses in the starkest way the question of who is to rule, labor or capital? — could only be realized with the development of a revolutionary program and party able to generalize the strikers' demands, and raise new demands pointing the way forward to the actual winning of political power by the workers. The inconclusive ending to the Winnipeg strike did not lie in the method of the general strike, but rather in its incompleteness.

The Winnipeg strike had soon to find the limits of its duration. It had either to remain within

the limits of a mighty demonstration against the bosses, in which case its termination was foreordained, or to take on new and broader aims.

It is now fashionable in NDP and trade union circles to claim the Winnipeg General Strike as an ancestor of the reformist Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and its successor the NDP. (CCF founder J. S. Woodsworth in fact played a relatively minor role in the strike leadership.) But it is at least equally true that many militants, recognizing the limitations of pure and simple trade unionism as revealed in the general strike, went on to help found the Communist party in 1921. Despite its subsequent Stalinization and decay, the Communist party in its early days was a healthy revolutionary organization firmly based on the traditions of Bolshevism which under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky had won power for the workers in Russia in 1917.

The Winnipeg General Strike had other important repercussions. It was a big step in breaking the deadly grip of craft unionism and toward the development of industrial unionism which finally arrived in the late thirties. Today the Canadian labor movement stands out as a great deal more mature. The battles it faces are far more gigantic and far more serious.

The assimilation of the lessons of Winnipeg will be a guarantee of victory.



## **The myth of woman's 'inferiority'**

by Joan Newbigging

(From *Workers' Vanguard*, May 1969)

Ever since Aristotle declared that the "female nature" was "afflicted with a natural defectiveness," much more ink has been spilled on developing myths and prejudices on the inferiority of women than on any other topic.

Religion, biology, psychology, philosophy, anthropology — you name it — they've all been used to reinforce these fantasies. The holy decree commanding woman to obey her husband, the "biological theory" confining her to her role as bearer and nurturer of life, the network of "psychological facts" condemning her forever to a subservient role in society.

These myths and dogmas become part of all our lives. They change and evolve as new modes of thought and new customs develop. The crude religious dogmas are no longer as dominant as they once were. In their place the new sciences have been manipulated. But regardless of their form, they all share in common and perpetuate the myth of woman's inferiority, to provide rationalizations for the social inequality that now prevails.

Therefore it comes as no surprise that the new science of ethology — the study of the social behavior of animals — should now be used to "prove" once and for all the natural superiority of men. Based on the premise that human behavior can best be understood by relating it to that of other animals, this pseudo-scientific method of analysis has already been used to rationalize some of the more destructive features of today's world. Private property, wars, greed and selfishness, are all explained in terms of "animal nature," which is equated with "human nature."

The author of this latest thesis, Lionel Tiger and his collaborator Robin Fox, expound their views in a recently published book *Men In Groups* (Thos. Nelson, \$10.00.) Their theory follows these lines. Men have a biological drive, which they inherit from their ape-like ancestors, to get together into all-male groups; through these groups they always have and always will run the world. On the other hand women are biologically conditioned, also from the ape heritage, to stay at home and look after the kids. It is unnatural for them to engage in politics, warfare, or "any matters of moment for the community."

These theories are simply a crude and slanderous variation on an age-old theme. But what is surprising is that they should receive such widespread publicity and acclaim, including a feature article in the latest issue of *Macleans* magazine. Had Tiger and Fox (what appropriate names!) come up with the theory that Black or Jewish people were biologically inferior, there would have been a massive outcry of outraged public sentiment. Women, however, are considered fair game for such vicious attacks.

Why? Is there any truth in these theories that women, more than men, are governed

by their "animal nature"? Why have such ideas about the natural inferiority of women held sway for centuries?

An analysis of the evolution of human society gives us an insight into these fundamental problems that no analysis of ape society, however refined, can provide. The human species with its vast intellectual and productive capacities has long since differentiated itself totally from all other animal groups. Moreover a truly scientific and historical approach explodes the myth of woman's inferiority, the view that she is forever chained by her unchanging "nature."

Tiger and the other advocates of the human nature theory ignore the vast ages of prehistory when women rather than men were the dynamic leaders of society. It was woman who invented agriculture, toolmaking and medicine, who first domesticated animals, while primitive man spent prolonged periods on the hunt in isolation from the community. It was woman who initiated the great transition from a food gathering and hunting economy to one based on agriculture and the domestication of animals — the springboard for all further progress.

This was the period in history when society was organized on the basis of maternal kinship. It was only with the advent of class society, within the past few thousand years, that the modern "nuclear" family that we know today emerged, along with private property, the state and the mythology on woman's inferiority. It was class society, not a resurgence of her "nature," that brought about the subjugation of woman.

=====BOX Photo caption =====

#### ROAD TO LIBERATION

In 10 years the Cuban revolution has made great strides toward integrating women into the productive process and freeing them from the home. Above, a Cuban woman in factory making pressure cookers.

== END BOX =====

Today woman is relegated to the role of raising the next generation of workers. In addition she is shifted on and off the labor force as the economy demands. It is the economic and social needs of society that dictate what her "nature" is — whether she is to be today's delicate and feminine housewife or the strong factory worker of World War II who filled a "man's job." Her second class status is rooted in the economic and social base of society, but it is reinforced and perpetuated by this network of myths and customs.

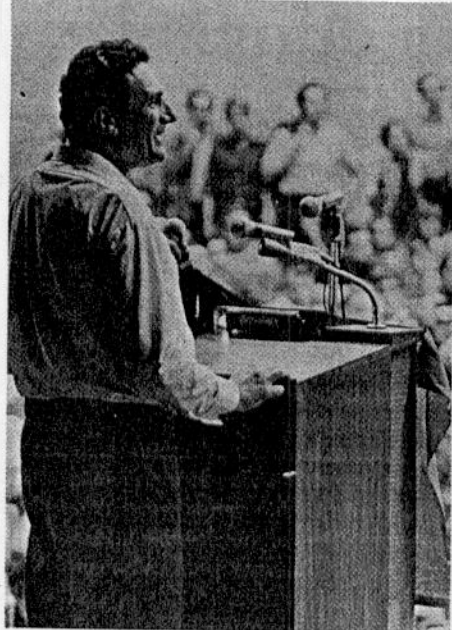
Indeed it is this powerful and pervasive factor that excludes women from taking advantage of many of the gains already won, that prevents them from becoming leaders in politics and industry. Tiger, with his theories on the biological inferiority of women, is only adding to this destructive arsenal of fantasies and dogmas.

Today thousands of women are awakening to the contradictions and limitations of their position. In the tradition of the great struggles women have waged in the past, they are again demanding and struggling for equality now.

As we fight to shatter the myths and customs which chain woman to her inferior position, we are struggling to destroy the system in which they are embedded. As we fight for a massive program of government financed nursery schools and day care centres, for an end to discrimination at work, for the right to benefit equally from the educational system, for the right to control our lives, we are struggling to destroy this unjust and exploitative system which has debased woman and chained her to a "second class citizenship."

In the last analysis, this struggle is one against capitalism. For we are working to build a society that knows no inequalities of race, sex or class. A society that will provide the material basis for the liberation of all — a socialist society.





Ernest Mandel speaks to student radicals

<sup>workers</sup>  
**Vanguard**

#174 May 1969

## BUILDING THE SOCIALIST PRESS

# We made it-biggest sum ever!

by The Editors

The money is still trickling in, but we can announce with gratitude that the readers of the *Workers Vanguard* and *La Lutte Ouvrière* made it over the top in this year's campaign to raise \$13,000 for our continued publication.

Vancouver, which is already over the top, writes that they are sending along another \$180. Quebec assures us of \$900. And Toronto has additional pledges sufficient to meet

its objective.

We set our goals high — higher than ever before. And as can be seen from the chart below, some areas didn't quite succeed in meeting their quota despite big efforts on their part. But the most gratifying response came from our youthful supporters in the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, who went more than a thousand dollars over their quota, thus ensuring the success of the drive.

	Quota	Paid
Quebec .....	\$ 1,000	\$ 808
Ontario: Richmond Hill .....	400	400
Ottawa .....	200	170
Hamilton-Niagara .....	200	100
Sudbury .....	250	175
Simcoe County .....	250	150
Toronto .....	5,500	5,199
Prairies .....	700	106
British Columbia .....	3,000	3,007
YS/LJS (includes also General) .....	1,500	2,342
	<b>\$13,000</b>	<b>\$12,457</b>

**BOOK REVIEW**

# New insights on economic theory

**MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY, by Ernest Mandel, 2 vols., Merlin Press, \$11.00.**

Recent experience has been cruel to the believers in capitalist economic stability. The world monetary system has lurched into yet another stage in its seemingly permanent crisis. Economic planners frankly admit they have no answers to mounting inflation. Last year's general strike of ten million in France showed how modern capitalism, far from taming labor, spurs it to struggles of unprecedented power.

For decades Marxist economic theory has met with only indifference or contempt in Western academic circles. But the relevancy of Marxist economics has never been more striking than today. It now governs the policies of states both large and small where it has eliminated precisely those dilemmas which so baffle the official economists of the capitalist world.

Ernest Mandel's two volume work, *Marxist Economic Theory*, a unique and brilliant reworking of the conclusions of Marx's *Capital* in terms of today's scientific evidence and today's problems, was first published in France in 1962, where it won wide recognition and educated of the revolutionary vanguard of the French May uprising of 1968. The English translation, just published, provides an invaluable theoretical weapon to the revolutionists of this continent.

A sharp revival of interest in Marxist economics today is plain to see. But most of those economists who use Marxist analysis only quarry useful blocks out of the Marxist edifice. Bourgeois theorists have borrowed from Marx essential concepts for their theories of capitalist growth which aim to find some formula for stability of the shak- ing system.

Some Marxist writers on the other hand, like Paul Sweezy and Paul Baran in *Monopoly Capital*, seem to be willing to jettison much of the Marxist system in an attempt to apply concepts drawn from bourgeois economics to the criticism of contemporary capitalism. They tend to concede the resolution of many of the basic contradictions laid

bare by Marx, such as those bound up with competition, economic cycles, and the cease- less economic struggle of capitalist and working classes.

Mandel demonstrates the continuing val- idity of Marxist theory in contemporary capitalism, and shows how the basic contra- dictions described by Marx have been pre- served, and compounded by new dilemmas such as the present monetary crisis and the tendency to permanent inflation.

Mandel's aim is ambitious: "to start from the empirical data of the science of today to examine whether or not the essence of Marx's economic propositions remains valid." In doing so he not only reestablishes the basic theses of *Capital*, he applies them to a wide range of problems which have surfaced only since its publication.

Mandel's method is drawn directly from Marx's *Capital*. The basic economic con- cepts, from commodity production to mod- ern imperialism, are portrayed in their real context as social relations of production, and are examined in terms of their historical genesis and evolution. The economic theory which emerges is not the artificial abstrac- tion found in bourgeois texts, but a syn- thesis of the findings of history, sociology, philosophy and other fields of learning.

But where Marx's *Capital* delves into all the manifold aspects of capitalist production relationships, and meticulously develops its argument in a masterwork of revolutionary reasoning, Mandel's treatise sweeps across a broad range of topics with the greatest sim- plicity and lucidity of exposition. It does not attempt to replace the fuller develop- ment in Marx's writings, handling many of the most contentious questions in quick and striking passages. The underlying historical framework of Marx's thought, often beneath the surface in *Capital*, is brought out with great clarity.

*Marxist Economic Theory* can be said to reach out further than *Capital* in both space and time. Where Marx's facts and statistics were drawn of necessity from western Eu- rope, Mandel restates the theory of *Capital*

in terms of the latest findings on the rise and fall of economic systems, pre-bourgeois and bourgeois, on a global scale.

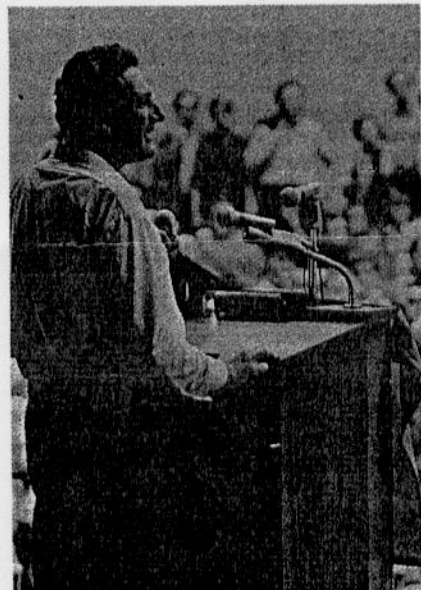
Mandel reaches back long before the starting point of Marx's argument, commod- ity production, to the earliest beginnings of productive labor, and extends Marx's an- alysis of developed capitalism to discuss not only the most recent features of the system, but the problems of transitional and socialist economies.

In the field of post-capitalist economics which Marx left almost uncharted, which is all too dominated today by utopian dream- ings on the one hand and blatant apologetics for Stalinist bureaucracy on the other, Mandel examines the contradictions and problems of building a world socialist econ- omy, giving the basic insights of Trotsky a thorough and rounded exposition.

His work concludes with a portrayal of the transition to communist society, when mankind will see the withering away of commodity production, of money, of the state, and lastly of the division of labor, and the "economy" that goes with it.

This is without doubt the book that will open the door to Marxist economic theory to a whole new generation of revolution- aries. Old veterans of Marxist study and new graduates from the schools of socialist action will find it lucid, sparkling, and full of new insights. Mark it down as the book of the year, one of the most indispensable books to appear in a long time.

—J.R.



**Ernest Mandel speaks to student radicals**



# REGISTRATION FORM

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

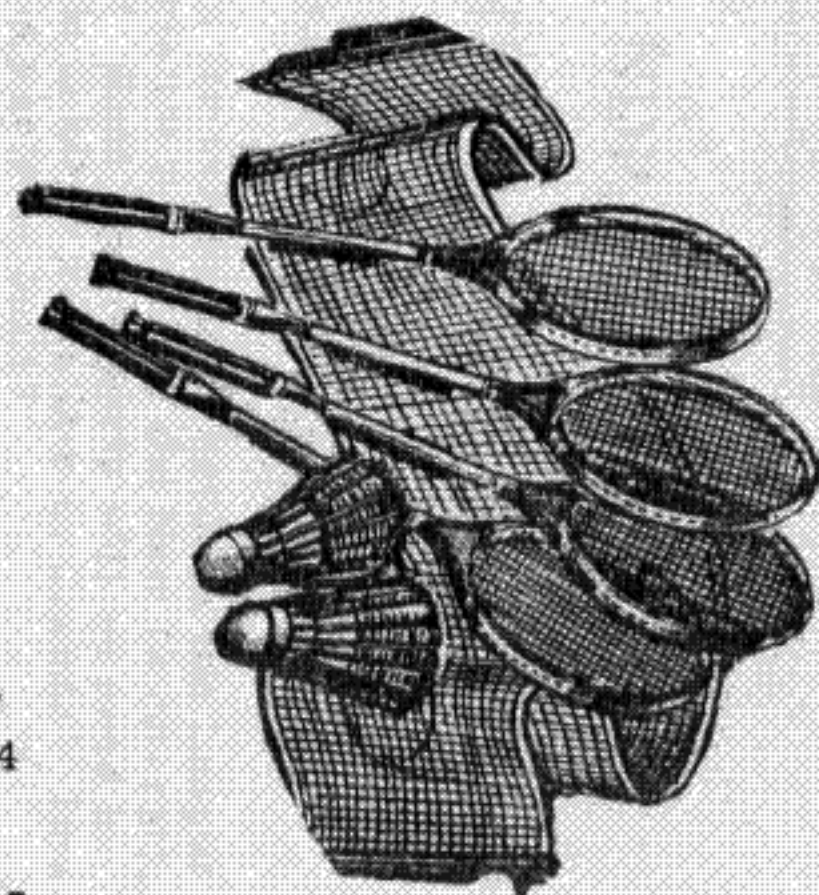
.....Phone Number.....

- ..... I would like more information on the summer school
- ..... I would like to work for the summer school
- ..... I enclose \$..... as a donation to help the summer school
- ..... I am coming to the summer school. Enclosed is \$..... registration fee for the following classes.

Class 1, June 21-22..... Class 3, July 19-20..... Class 5, August 16-17  
Class 2, July 5-6..... Class 4, August 2-3..... Class 6, August 23-24

Registration fee for the summer school will be \$1.50 for each weekend class or \$8.00 for all 6 classes. (There will be an additional charge for food, transportation and use of the camping facilities, etc.)

(tear along dotted line)



CLASS 5 - AUGUST 16-17

## QUEBEC and the NATIONAL QUESTION

Class Leader - DICK FIDLER

What does the right of national minorities to self-determination mean? Marxist theory on the national question. A discussion of nationalism in Quebec and its relation to the world-wide struggle for socialism.



### READINGS

Vive le Quebec Libre.  
Lenin on the National Question.



CLASS 6 - AUGUST 23 - 24



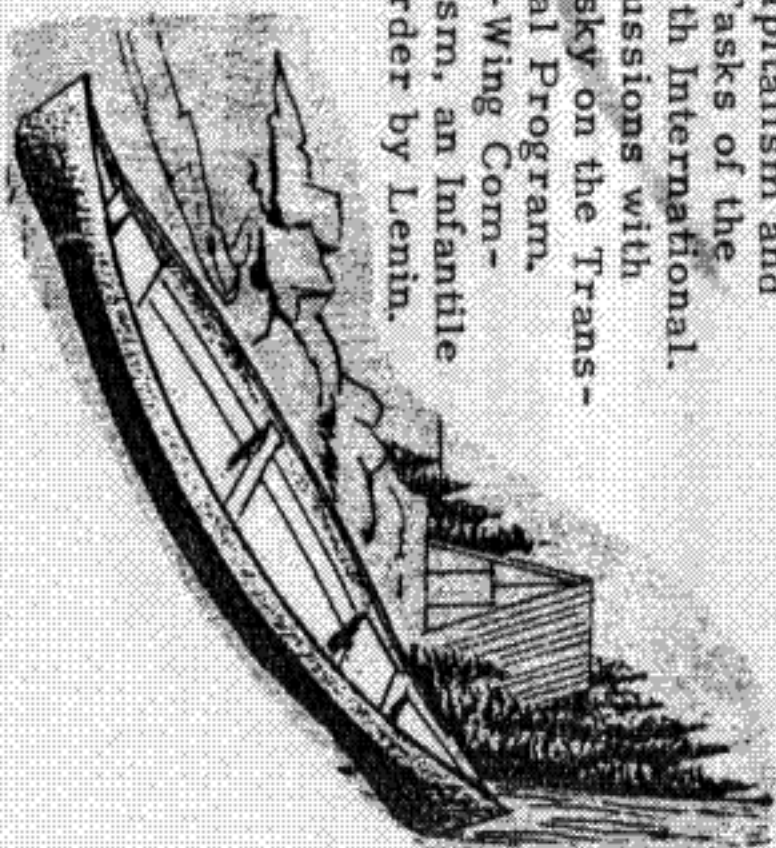
## REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY and a PROGRAM for TODAY

Class Leader - ROSS DOWSON

A discussion of the transitional program. How does this program differ from those put forward by ultra-leftists and reformists?

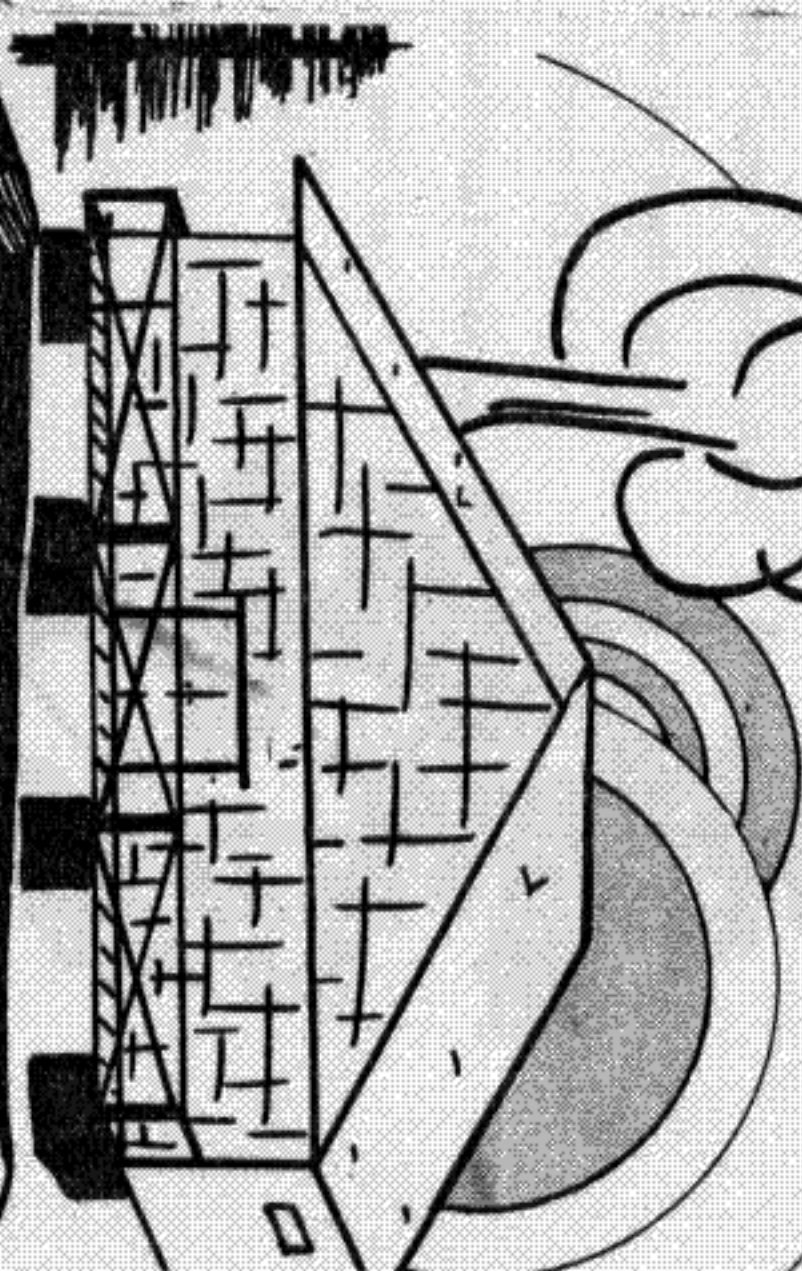
### READINGS

The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International.  
Discussions with Trotsky on the Transitional Program.  
Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder by Lenin.



# Socialist Summer School

## 1969



at

# Camp Pound-maker



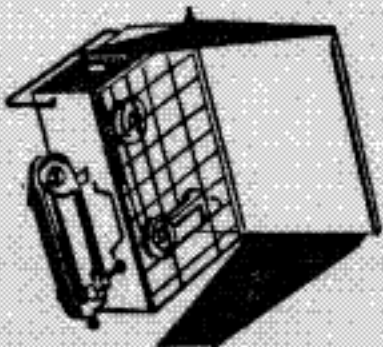


CLASS 1 - JUNE 21 - 22

## The NDP, the LSA and the CANADIAN REVOLUTION

Class Leader - JOHN RIDDELL

What is the relationship between the League for Socialist Action and the New Democratic Party? What type of party will we need in order to achieve socialism in Canada? How will this party be built?



**READINGS**  
What the LSA is and what it stands for.  
The Struggle for a Proletarian Party - by Cannon.  
The Vanguard Party and the World Revolution (50 years of World Revolution).

CLASS 2 - JULY 5 - 6

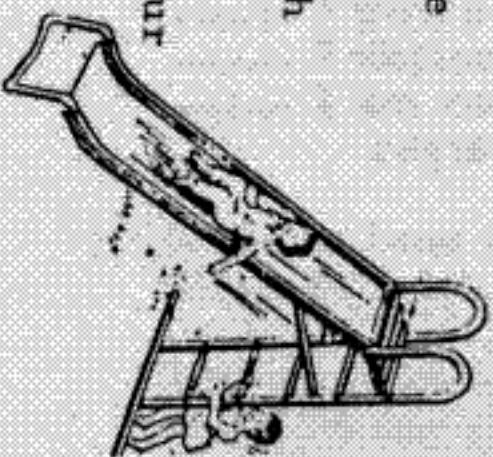
## POWER and DILEMMA of the TRADE UNIONS

Class Leader - To Be Announced

A discussion of the history of the trade union movement in Canada and the situation today. What strategy should militants in the labor movement adopt in order to transform the trade unions into fighting instruments of the working class?

### READINGS

Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions, by Ross Dowson.  
Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay - by Trotsky.  
Recent trends in the Labour Movement - by Farrell Dobbs.

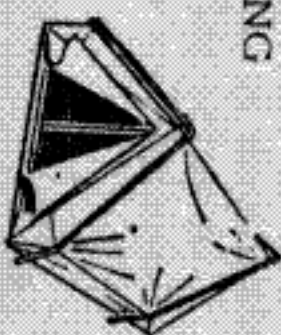


CLASS 3 - JULY 19 - 20

## The STRUGGLE for WOMAN'S LIBERATION

Class Leader - JOAN NEWBIGGING

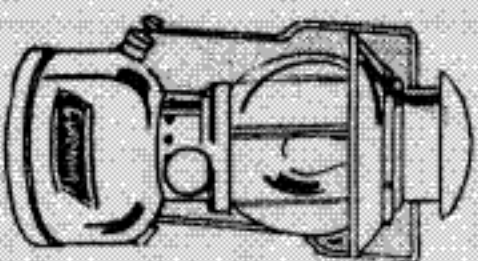
A historical look at woman's role and status in society. Why has class society subjugated woman?  
How can we promote the struggle for woman's liberation?



**READINGS**  
Brief to the Royal Commission by the LSA  
Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State by Engels.

CLASS 4 - AUGUST 2 - 3

## The NECESSITY of SOCIALISM



Class Leader - JACQUE HENDERSON

How do marxists view the development of human society? What's wrong with capitalism - the present stage of its development? What forces are propelling us towards socialism? How will we achieve a socialist Canada?

### READINGS

The Long View of History by Warde.  
Socialism on Trial by Cannon.  
Next Leap Ahead, YSF - May - June '67.  
Socialism, Utopian & Scientific.  
Communist Manifesto.

(for classes 5&6 see over)

## What is the Summer School?

Every year the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists hold a summer school in order to study intensively the theory, traditions and history of the socialist movement.

This year for the first time the these classes will be held at Camp Poundmaker, on the banks of the Salmon River in southeast Ontario.  
As well as study, there will be swimming, baseball, hiking - and fun for all!



Sponsored by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists.

For further information call

922-6665 or 921-1637  
1 Cumberland St. Toronto.



# Quebec NDP eyes provincial politics

by Arthur Young

MONTREAL — The convention of the Quebec NDP held here over the Victoria Day weekend opened the door to NDP action on the provincial, municipal and school board levels. The convention decided to lift the constitutional clause which has banned such activity and limited the party's appeal to Québécois as a serious alternative to the capitalist parties in Quebec.

Despite this positive step, the entire convention was dominated by an atmosphere of gloom and pessimism. The last federal elections were a crushing blow to many party members in Quebec. The leadership had assured them that with their prestigious candidates, a serious campaign, some money and organization, the party would win some seats and score the decisive breakthrough they had been working for for so long. But when Trudeauania and the lack of NDP roots prevented them from winning a single seat, many of the best NDP militants could see that the leadership's perspective was faulty. They left the party or went into inactivity, and the party has been going downhill ever since.

This was clearly shown at the convention. The previous convention several years ago was an elaborately staged affair with between 400 and 500 delegates, representing a number of active clubs. This convention was an austere affair attended by not more than 100 delegates. While there are formally 500 NDP members (a sharp drop from 1500 at the time of the elections) there are probably not more than 150 persons active in the party — any member who paid the entrance fee at the door became a delegate to this convention.

While the NDP has been going downhill, the class struggle has been sharpening in Quebec. During the convention some 6,000 construction workers were on strike across the province, 70,000 teachers were trying to get a contract after 22 months of negotiation with the government, 70% of Canadian iron ore production was tied up by a Quebec-wide strike, and more than 1,000 ship-building workers were being told that in a few months time they would all be out of work permanently. Despite repeated and successful interventions by the Quebec government against labor struggles, the workers have mobilized repeatedly. On the political plane, the fight for a unilingual French school system has gone forward, scoring victories at the ballot box and in street demonstrations.

The decline of the party is due in large measure to its refusal to adopt policies and carry out actions that would permit it to speak for and lead such struggles. It remains within the narrow electoralist framework — and federal elections, at that. To this must be added the fact that the Quebec Federation of Labor, the only Quebec labor body to endorse the NDP, represents a minority

of organized labor in the province. It now grants the NDP only minimal support.

The party decided to enter the provincial arena without confidence or enthusiasm. The essential decisions on program, actions, and choice of a new leader were put off to another convention to be held within 18 months. The NDP does not intend to prepare for the coming provincial elections which will be held in less than a year's time. It will present only a few candidates, or not run at all.

Several delegates, members of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, protested that this meant in effect abstaining from Quebec politics for another, possibly decisive period. Given the high degree of unpopularity of the boss parties in Quebec, the NDP could make rapid progress; in abstaining they ensure that the protest votes will go to Lévesque's Parti Québécois and to Caouette's Créditistes. Thus these parties become major obstacles to the future growth of the NDP. By its abstention, the NDP can only get weaker still, they pointed out.

The few programmatic discussion papers presented to the convention completely neglected the key questions of Quebec politics, and aroused little interest. A new executive was elected, headed by Roland Morin who was re-elected president without opposition.

## Ontario council

The May 17-18 meeting of the Ontario NDP provincial council in North Bay continued to hear independent and often radical views voiced by delegates.

Only two of the over 80 delegates present

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## cross country with the NDP

voted for a resolution from the York Center riding executive censuring provincial secretary John Harney for addressing the united front May Day Rally in Toronto. Delegates stressed the importance of the party's participation in such meetings of the left. Some urged the party to initiate them and to endorse May Day as the real "Labor Day."

An Ontario Young New Democrats emergency resolution protesting the federal party's cut-off of the youth subsidy was hotly debated and passed by a narrow majority in the face of strong opposition by most of the executive. Provincial secretary Harney had to invoke the lack of a quorum (the item was pushed to the closing minutes of the Sunday meeting) to undercut the decision.

The council also voted to reverse a prior executive decision to endorse a special federal leadership convention for 1970 to replace the 1969 or 1971 regular conventions as vehicle for a change in the top leadership post. In arguing this, some delegates pointed out that the leadership question should not be isolated from the debates of a regular policy-making convention, when the programs of respective candidates could be fully presented.

The NDP in Ottawa and London, Ont., according to council delegates from those areas, has followed Toronto's example in taking up the challenge of municipal action, by deciding to enter NDP candidates in this fall's civic election campaigns.



photo by Mintz

Arthur Young (right), chairman of Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, speaks to NDP president Roland Morin (left, with pipe) and CNTU leader Michel Chartrand (2nd from right) at Socialist Students Conference in Montreal last January.

# Socialism is the answer, NDP told

Socialism is the only answer to the growing encroachment by U.S.-based multinational corporations, Prof. Melville Watkins told the NDP federal council meeting which met in Montreal early this month. The author of the Watkins Report on foreign ownership of the Canadian economy which was commissioned by the Liberal government under Pearson, told the council that any kind of more limited strategy contains too many weaknesses to safeguard Canadian sovereignty. "There will be no real independence in Canada without socialism. Socialism creates the necessary base which makes independence possible."

The recommendations of the Watkins report — which scarcely go further than namby-pamby measures designed to force foreign-owned corporations to make full disclosures of their holdings — have been consistently presented by the NDP leadership as the answer to U.S. control and, by implication, an effective alternative to nationalization.

Watkins, it appears, thinks differently. In a letter published in the April-May **Canadian Dimension**, he states that his study of U.S. "imperialism" and its operation in Canada has now brought him around to the view that "to implement the Watkins Report is decidedly second-best; the first-best solution is socialism, and a radical socialism at that." Although he did not spell it out, it is clear that Watkins now feels nationalization is the socialist solution to foreign ownership and the multi-national (i.e.-joint U.S.-Canadian owned) corporations. How long until the NDP too, endorses this entirely correct approach?

## Federal Council

That same meeting of the NDP federal council passed resolutions condemning the Canadian government's recognition and support of the Greek dictatorship, and demanding that the government refuse to participate in the projected anti-ballistic missile scheme "in any way, including defense contracts." A resolution condemning the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and calling for an end to arms sales was discussed but not voted on.

The top brass in the party came down hard against a resolution seeking to give unions automatic representation on the federal council. Saskatchewan leader Woodrow

## cross country with the NDP

Lloyd opposed it on the grounds that trade unions "should be an important part of the party but not partners." Parliamentary deputy leader David Lewis condemned the motion because, he claimed, it would "make a kind of distinction" between party members.

But what they really oppose is opening up positions in the party leadership which would be under the direct control of the unions and not the tight clique around Woodsworth House at Ottawa. Lewis says top officers of the Canadian Labor Congress also oppose this proposal. They, too, have their reasons to oppose a measure which might make it easier for dissident rank and file elements to find a voice in the party leadership.

## Hamilton Council

The Hamilton NDP has voted to enter a slate on the NDP label in the next municipal elections. The important decision was taken by the Hamilton and District NDP Council at its annual convention on May 31 following a hot debate of two hours. The main opposition to the move came from those city aldermen who are NDPers. They wanted the party to continue to support candidates on a non-partisan "labor" slate, in effect saying that the NDP could not gain support of all those who would support a labor slate. They were soundly defeated by a majority of 55 to 12.

The date of the council meeting coincided with the labor march on Queen's Park, to the outrage of many NDP activists. Council president Stewart Cooke claimed a previous decision bound the council to hold the meeting on that day. "We assure you," he added, "there was no planned disruption one way or the other." Since Cooke also happens to be president of the Hamilton Labor Council, which was reluctant to support the protest, many delegates were not satisfied with this feeble explanation.

A motion to send a telegram to the march



Melville Watkins

conveying the greetings of the Hamilton NDP Council and confirming its solidarity was unanimously adopted.

Cooke was re-elected council president unopposed.

— C.L.

## Municipal program

The first serious rank-and-file discussion of an NDP program for the Toronto municipal elections this fall took place in an all-day seminar on June 1. Eight workshops dealt with topics such as tenants' struggles, the housing crisis, control of police, etc. Discussion papers were presented on some subjects.

A highlight was the discussion — the first ever in the NDP — on the growing tenants' movement. Led by Lee Patterson, president of the Eastmount Tenants' Association, the workshop came out firmly in favor of a strong commitment by the NDP to support and help build tenants' associations. These groups, the participants concluded, should have the same rights to collective bargaining as trade unions. A Metro-wide tenants association is needed with a say in the planning and design of proposed projects. Security deposits should be abolished, security of tenure guaranteed without leases, and landlords and superintendents should be licensed to assure a standard of ethics and performance. Rents should be reduced to approximately 25 percent of a family's income by a massive program of public housing construction.



P.2

struction and rent control.

The workshop on police demanded that the cops be disarmed and that the police commission be directly elected.

The trade union workshop, headed by Laborers' union leader Gerry Gallagher, the first nominated aldermanic candidate, urged the Toronto Area Council to reverse its stand in opposition to running a slate of Board of Education candidates and a mayoralty candidate in addition to the aldermanic slate.

The proposals from this conference are to be incorporated in the draft program to be presented to the September convention which will draw up the NDP 1969 municipal program.

— A.M.

## Contests nomination

VANCOUVER — A leading spokesman of the B.C. Socialist Caucus in the NDP, Bryan Belfont, is challenging NDP president John Laxton for the NDP nomination in the Vancouver South riding. Belfont, a high school teacher, is an active member of the B.C. Teacher's Federation and a founding member of the NDP. Since his year of study in Havana in the early '60's he has been an active supporter of the Cuban revolution and is now chairman of the Vancouver Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

His bid to stand as a candidate in the forthcoming provincial election follows a recent decision by the Socialist Caucus to encourage its supporters to stand as NDP candidates.

Belfont's challenge to Laxton takes up the whole question of the NDP's direction — parliamentary electoralism versus a mass actively engaged working class party.

"As a leading participant in the NDP Socialist Caucus I have long felt that only a socialist program can meet the needs of the NDP. We need to have power after the election. The difference between being in power and 'in office' will be our mass, popular support won through active involvement in the day-to-day problems and struggles of the working people — unions, tenants' organizations, student organizations, the anti-war movement all need our involved support," Belfont said in an open letter to the Vancouver South NDP members.

Vancouver South, a two-seat riding, is now held by Norman Levi for the NDP and a Social Credit member.

— P.C.

# Educational classes slated in Vancouver

by Phil Courneyeur

The Vancouver League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists will be holding a three-month series of Monday evening Summer School seminars and three educational weekends this summer.

The Summer School will commence Monday, June 16 with a series of three classes on **An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism**. The series will continue on Monday, June 23, and Wednesday, June 25, at 7:30 p.m., 1208 Granville Street. Admission 25c per session.

During July and August the Summer School will meet every Monday evening at 7:30 p.m. at 1208 Granville. The school will take up the following topics: the State; The Nature of Bureaucracy; The Transitional Program; Permanent Revolution; Fascism; The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class; The Revolutionary Role of Students; Women's Liberation; The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions; and the NDP, the LSA and the Canadian Revolution.

The first educational weekend, on July 19-20, will feature three lectures by American socialist scholar George Novack on the transitional program. The second, on August 2-3, will deal with the Black Struggle for Freedom in the United States. Tony Thomas, a leading black member of the Young Socialist Alliance, will give two lectures on the black liberation struggle and on the need for a multi-national vanguard party. The Labor Day weekend (Aug. 30-Sept. 1) will complete the Summer School with classes on the NDP, the LSA and the Canadian Revolution. The weekend sessions will be held outside the city.

Classes and related events will be announced in greater detail, both in the *Workers Vanguard* and in circulars.

## **Cabaret marks gains of Cuban revolution**

by John Steele

VANCOUVER — Shouts of Viva Che, Venceremos, and Long Live the Cuban Revolution, followed the address of the Cuban representative Ricardo Escartin, first secretary at the Ottawa embassy to the May 31 cabaret of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Almost 175 students, unionists and New Democrats of all ages attended the affair, held in the Fisherman's Hall to celebrate ten years of the Cuban revolution.

The cabaret was everything it was billed and more. The hall, colorfully decorated with Cuban posters, pictures of Che Guevara and light shows consisting of slides and films of Cuba since the revolution, vividly expressed the determination and optimism of the Cuban people building the first socialist society in the Western Hemisphere.

In addition to the speeches, the gathering listened to poetry and Cuban music, and

enjoyed a meal of Cuban-style roast pork specially prepared for the occasion.

Bryan Belfont, Vancouver chairman of the FPCC, humorously outlined the achievements of the revolution, stressing the emphasis on the building of the new socialist man. His description of the drive toward the 10 million ton sugar harvest in 1970 illustrated the intensity and energy of the revolution in its eleventh year.

The success of the cabaret indicated the ongoing interest here in Cuba. The October tour to Cuba now being organized by the B.C. NDP demonstrates this too. Among its summer activities which will include a July 26th picnic, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is selling five dollar raffle tickets for a seat booked on the NDP chartered flight.



An attractive photo display of revolutionary Cuba is now making the rounds of various libraries and university campuses across Canada. Shown here is a section of the display as mounted at University of Toronto library. Information on the exhibit can be obtained by writing its producers, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 165 Spadina Ave., Room 30, Toronto 2B, Ont.

# Tenants find it pays to organize

by Dick Fidler

Like almost half the people in Toronto, I'm an apartment dweller. For over a year, I've lived in one of those ordinary-looking slightly run-down three-storey apartments snuggled up to equally run-down houses or squeezed between high-rise apartments that you see all over the downtown area. Like most tenants, I could have counted the people I knew in my building on the fingers of one hand. Frankly, I never *wanted* to know them, those anonymous persons whose comings and goings were of no concern to me. Then one day this spring, the landlord brought us all together. He didn't intend to, but . . .

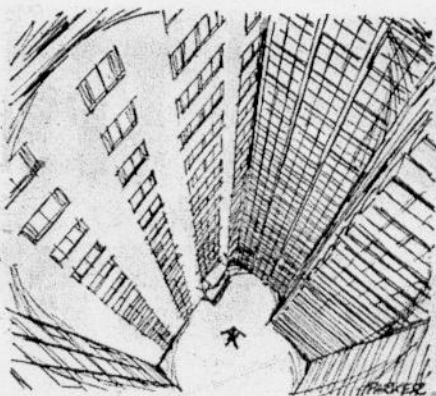
Appropriately enough, it all started on May Day, when a note was shoved under our doors informing us that the rent would be increased by an average 15 to 20 percent on every unit effective June 1. This was the second such increase in 10 months, so naturally everyone was rather angry. Eight tenants gave their notice immediately. But one, a young woman on the third floor, a townplanner and NDP activist, slipped a note under everyone's door suggesting we get together and fight the increase. Within a few days, twenty of the 35 tenants in the building had met and formed a tenants' association, elected an executive of eight, and issued the first of what came to be almost nightly news bulletins to all the tenants telling them of the latest developments in our struggle.

Our demands were simple and reasonable: that the landlord meet with us, attempt to justify the increase and, hopefully, negotiate a reduction if not elimination of the increase.

Simple and reasonable. . . Yet for over two weeks, the landlord refused to recognize the association, let alone meet with us. Finally, when we threatened to submit notice to quit en masse, he acceded. And so one evening we met, packed together in the usual apartment — in the corner, the landlord, truculent, yet very ill at ease, as if

still uncertain as to why he had been forced into this position; and confronting him, the tenants.

Ordinary people — office secretaries, students, nurses, laborers, a hotel bellboy, three West Indian girls, a CBC technician, pensioners and so on. Since we already knew each other, the only introduction was the



landlord's. It was short. And then the grievances came forth, slow and calm and precise at first, as a few of us asked that he justify the increase, then more indignant and forceful as we got onto the subject of apartment conditions. Cockroaches, silverfish, no doors on the bathrooms, no flue-pipes on the gas stoves, octopus lighting, etc., etc.

There were some poignant aspects. Mrs. B., an elegant, gray-haired pensioner explained to the landlord in simple unemotional yet deeply stirring words how a 15 percent rent increase on her low fixed income meant she now had to cut back on food. . . His reply? "What do you think we're running — a charity?" Clearly, the only language he understood was power.

Power is what we had, however — not the economic or political power of a landlord with his vast and lucrative properties buttressed by the Landlords and Tenants

Act, a feudal hangover which deprives the tenants of any legal recourse; but the power of our numbers, our unity. He blustered, of course as they all do: "I'll charge what the market will bear; if you don't like it here, you can move." But he had to face the facts: a majority of tenants were indeed prepared to leave within a month, leaving him with the prospect of a half-empty building. And so he offered a concession — a five dollar reduction in the rent increase. With a new feeling of confidence we adjourned, and over pizza, the association prepared to press on for more.

To make a long story short, within the next week, the two leading figures in the tenants' association were each given a month's notice — to be 48 hours, in one case, "if there are further complaints." At the same time, however, as if to forestall protests over the evictions, the landlord lowered the rent increase a further five dollars on about half the apartments. We had won an important point.

The struggle is not over, as the evicted tenants have no intention of leaving the building at the end of the month. You see, it is now our **home**. There's a new spirit in the building. Tenants greet each other in the lobby, pass the time of day, visit each other's apartments, greet new tenants and assist them in getting acquainted with our struggle. Why, just the other night, we had a birthday party for one of the tenants.

The victory on Gloucester St. is not the sort of story that makes headlines across the country. A small building, ordinary people, with not much money. But that's just why it is important. For these ordinary people, these tenants, showed that no matter what the legal and financial odds, if you organize and resist, you can win — if not the whole loaf, at least a whole lot more. And, as I can testify, it's a personally rewarding experience. The best antidote to the alienation of city apartment life that I've discovered in a long while!



# Behind the 'invasion' of U.S. professors

by John Riddell

They call it "a program of national suicide." "Canadians are being reduced to the status of colonials." "No policy exists to prevent the extinction of the Canadian university as a viable Canadian institution."

This is how many Canadian professors have been describing the influx of foreign staff onto Canadian campuses.

An Emergency Symposium on the Americanization of Canadian Universities in Montreal May 17-18 discussed the findings of professors James Steele and Robin Mathews, which show the proportion of Canadians on university staff has dropped from 75 percent to 49 percent in the last eight years. A committee was chosen to carry forward further investigation and action.

## Clear trend

Some of the statistics of Steele and Mathews have been shown to be exaggerated, but the trend is nonetheless clear. The influx of foreign teachers almost equals the increase in Canadian teaching posts, while only a small proportion of Canadians with graduate degrees acquire posts in Canadian universities.

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## Read

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- on Charles Taylor's Alternative
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But many of the arguments of the protesting professors are as phony as a Pentagon peace plan. Novelist Hugh MacLennan for example, calling for the defense of "Canadian identity," gives no reasons other than that it is an expression of mysterious biological instincts. Then he tells us that U.S. influence on the campus is responsible for (you'll never guess!) student radicalism! American professors are blamed for everything from student demonstrations of solidarity with Vietnam and the U.S. black struggle to the replacement of hidebound academic hierarchy with democratic control.

Robin Mathews, although identified with the left, can find no better words to condemn the U.S. professors' influence than by accusing them of hostility to British parliamentary institutions.

Yet there are legitimate causes for concern. Many qualified Canadians have difficulty today landing jobs in Canadian universities because of the prevailing prejudice in favor of U.S.-trained academics. The American universities supposedly have higher standards.

Even if this were true, this would be no excuse to deny Canadians their right to employment in their own country. And this prejudice ignores the unique qualifications of Canadians in discussing the social questions and historical problems of this country.

If U.S. universities have higher standards, it is only when measured by an imperialist yardstick. The U.S. academic élite, so advanced in the area of technology, are only too barren in their analysis of the social crisis of their country and of the world.

But more is involved than job prejudice. Hollow generalities about "national identity" give little hint of the threat the protesting faculty perceive. But when they warn that Canada is becoming a "colony," surely they are thinking of the growing domination of Canada by (they never speak the word) imperialism. Integration of our campuses into the U.S. academic establishment brings home the threat that they may become mere

transmission belts for U.S. imperialist ideology.

## "Americanization"

But a more honest and incisive analysis is needed to come to grips with this problem. U.S. influence has more powerful agents on the campus than individual U.S. professors. It works through contracts from the U.S. defense machine and U.S. corporations. It works through the Canadian campus establishment which carries out the hiring of U.S. professors.

A more telling and crucial example of the "Americanization" of Canadian campuses than the number of U.S. professors is the attacks on radical students and faculty with everything from expulsion to legal prosecution. Just like the good old U.S.A. — but it's Canadian governments and Canadian administrators that have led this offensive. The left academics speaking out on Americanization remain largely silent on this issue. For example, the same issue of that magazine of the academic left, *Canadian Dimension* which blasts Americanization of the campus, contains another vicious attack on student protesters.

We must share the left professors' concern with this "Americanization" which runs parallel to the increasing domination of all aspects of Canadian life by U.S. imperialism. Their demand for preferential hiring of Canadians with "more or less equal qualifications" is just and reasonable. They feel a justified concern that the Canadian university serve the Canadian people, not U.S. imperialism.

But if this is so, they must recognize that the chief vehicle for U.S. domination of Canada is the Canadian establishment, which shapes the universities to fit the needs of North American imperialism. There is a growing sentiment of opposition to this pervasive U.S. imperialist domination. But the struggle against it must take shape in the resistance to its loyal junior partners right here at home — our own rapacious and thoroughly imperialist ruling class.

# NDP TO POWER! MANITOBA SAYS

## workers Vanguard

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### Oil strike strategy challenged

by Phil Courneyeur

**VANCOUVER** — Five hundred B.C. oil workers are entering the fifth week of their strike against Imperial Oil, Shell, Gulf Oil, Standard Oil, Texaco and Home. The six oil cartels have enjoyed the support of several court injunctions, a propaganda barrage by the daily press and a shameless policy of capitulation before Bill 33 and the Social Credit government by the leadership of the B.C. Federation of Labor (BCFL).

Negotiations between the oil workers and the oil bosses have again broken down, with a dispute growing in labor's ranks over strike strategy and boycott tactics.

The policy of the B.C. Federation of Labor, as reported in the last issue of *The Vanguard* is not to boycott all oil products, but only those of Imperial ESSO. The Federation claims its policy is "responsible"; "that the full implementation of the Federation's hot products policy will bring industry to a standstill and adversely affect many British Columbians."

The decision to boycott only Imperial Oil products was made by the executive bodies of the B.C. Federation of Labor, the Vancouver and District Labor Council, the Building Trades Council and the New Westminster Labor Council. The single company boycott tactic clearly exposes the paralysis and fear of Bill 33 that dominates the existing labor leadership. They have caved in before the threat of compulsory arbitration.

Opposition to the BCFL sell-out policy is mounting. The Oil Workers themselves have declared all oil products hot.

The Vancouver IWA local 217 executive (See page 8)



photos by L. Pelletier

**COP CONFRONTATION.** Peaceful demonstration of 5,000 unionists and nationalists (top photo) marched through streets of Quebec City. At fair grounds, they were met by massive columns of cops (below) who then attacked demonstrators using clubs and gas.

## Que. labor march attacked by police

by Arthur Young

**MONTREAL, June 21** — Quebec unionists and nationalists staged a massive protest against the ruling Union Nationale party yesterday in Quebec City. The more than 5,000 protesters were attacked by police using clubs and gas.

The protest, which took place just outside the fair grounds where the UN was holding its leadership convention, was organized by striking construction workers, by the provincial civil service union, and by the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire. By far the largest contingent in the militant march was composed of the civil servants, fighting a proposed law which would remove many of their hard-won gains on working conditions, and would grant a cabinet minister wide powers of patronage. Others present were the Front de Libération Populaire, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. The LJS and LSO carried a large

banner "For a Labor Party."

In dispersing the demonstration, the police laid down a heavy barrage of choking tear gas. The gas was fired from special guns and dropped from a low-flying helicopter. Without warning more than 100 canisters of the gas were thrown into the crowd. This is the first large-scale use of gas for many years in Quebec.

The more than 1,000 cops mobilized for the protest carried two-foot long clubs. In pushing the marchers back they made liberal use of these clubs. Five or six cops would converge on a single demonstrator and beat him thoroughly. The demonstrator would then be arrested, and perhaps charged with "participating in a riot." One older unionist remarked that the police attack reminded him of the long and bitter Murdochville strike.

Provincial police seemed to believe that (See page 3)

**BULLETIN, June 26** — The people of Manitoba said it loud and clear yesterday — they want an NDP government. The NDP victory is an historic achievement for the Canadian working people, a big step to the election of NDP governments right across the country, up to and including Ottawa.

The New Democratic vote almost doubled to 40 percent, biting deeply into former Tory (35 percent) and Liberal (23 percent) territory. Taking 28 of the 57 seats in the legislature — up from 12 in the last house — the NDP is assured of forming the next government, barring a Tory-Liberal-Socred coalition.

Among the defeated Conservatives were five cabinet ministers, while the Liberals were reduced to a corporal's guard of five members, failing even to elect their leader.

**WINNIPEG, June 22** — June 25, the date of the Manitoba provincial election, has a double significance in history. It was exactly 50 years ago that the Winnipeg General Strike, the biggest labor upsurge yet, came to an end. And it is exactly a year since the election victory of the federal Liberals under Pierre Trudeau. But this year, on June 25, the working people of Manitoba have the real possibility of electing to power the province's first New Democratic Party government.

The upsurge of support for the NDP is the main feature of this election campaign. Most observers, regardless of political affiliation, expect the NDP to become at least the official opposition in the next legislature, if not the government.

The NDP's growth was highlighted by the announcement on June 3 that a key group of former young Liberal and Tory supporters have switched to the NDP. The group includes former executive officers of the University of Manitoba Liberal Club, the former youth director for the Liberal party, the former president of the high school Liberals, and former executives of the U of M Conservative Club.

From the beginning of May until the convention June 7 the NDP gained 3,000 new members. The convention, called in the middle of the campaign to elect a new leader, was the biggest ever, with over 600 delegates and as many visitors. Ed Schreyer, 33, the federal MP for Selkirk, was elected leader over Winnipeg labor lawyer, Sid Green. Both men campaigned on substantially the same platform — a watered-down liberal reformism. Delegates tended to play down the question of program in their

(See page 7)



Ed Schreyer  
Manitoba NDP Leader

**IN THIS  
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dissidents**

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# An appeal from Hugo Blanco

The following letter was received by the Young Socialists from Hugo Blanco, the imprisoned Peruvian revolutionary leader. Because of its importance, they have asked us to reprint it. Protests should be addressed to the Embassy of Bolivia, Ottawa.

\* \* \*

*Penal Island  
"El Fronton,"  
May 24, 1969*

The Bolivian "gorillas" have captured Raul Castro Vera, Peruvian student who travelled for health reasons and was passing through Bolivia.

It is a crime to be a Peruvian student leader and a leader of the "Left Revolutionary Front" (FIR) of which I am a member.

Since he is in great danger from those murderous claws dripping with the blood of Che, a world campaign for his liberty is urged.

We trust that you will mobilize the revolutionary youth of the world in support of this young revolutionary student.

Faternally,

*Hugo Blanco*

## Labor march

*Toronto, Ont.*

As a participant in the May 31 march here against anti-labor laws and the anti-union Rand Report, I want to add something to the report that was in the *Vanguard* (June 16).

As the article pointed out, the march lacked "a specific program of action," yet the political character of the rally was clear. The demonstrators showed their sympathies in the reactions to the speakers from Ontario's three main parties.

The Conservative Minister of Labor for Ontario, Dalton Bales, was booed throughout his small speech which took twenty minutes

## readers forum

**This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief.**

to struggle through because of the constant uproar. The government apologist was answered with chants of "out, out, out" and "we want to hear workers," and the microphone was surrounded with militants giving the "thumbs down" sign.

When Bales claimed that the Rand Report would improve the process of collective bargaining (in reality, if implemented, the report would put all sorts of restrictions on unions to negotiate for their members as a collective unit), the crowd almost shouted him down.

The same solid hostility was given to the Liberal MPP, deMonte, who tried to solidarize himself with the march. Militants booed continually, and many of the large demonstration chanted "we want the NDP."

When Cliff Pilkey of the NDP spoke he was cheered often, despite the fact that his words were very weak. The march showed what militant workers think of the NDP and that they want it to take action.

*A.M.*

## Manitoba elections

*Winnipeg, Man.*

My general impression about the current provincial elections is that the Manitoba NDP, through sheer opportunism, is prepared to make any possible compromise in order to attract votes. The leader of the party, Ed Schreyer, appears to be a right-

wing social democrat. His opponent at the leadership convention, Sid Green, was a bit (but not much) more left. This convention took place three weeks ago, in the middle of the election campaign, and the delegates' choice appears to me to have been dictated by electoral opportunism. They chose the most handsome of the candidates, the one who looked best on television. Schreyer is trying to give himself a glamorous image "à la Kennedy."

The Liberals, who chose their leader several weeks before, elected a reactionary identified with the right wing of the Liberal party. This has caused considerable dissatisfaction among the more progressive elements in the party. Several former Liberals (mainly youth) have gone over to the NDP. At least one former Liberal candidate is a New Democratic candidate this year. The NDP has therefore evolved toward the right in order to collect the votes of discontented Liberals.

The Communist party is running two candidates against the NDP. I went to one of their meetings. There were about 125 people there, and the average age was about 60. There were only four young people, Maoists, who came with red flags and Mao buttons. One of the main questions dealt with by the CP speakers was old age pensions. They hardly even raised international issues like Vietnam, NATO, the anti-imperialist struggle, etc.

For a socialist the most important — and also the most unfortunate — thing about this election campaign, is that the Manitoba NDP seems less and less a socialist party.

*M.M.*

## More

*Fredericton, N.B.*

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*Norm Strax*



# Montreal LSO

## launches

# English forums

by Penny Simpson

MONTREAL — The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière here has launched a new series of English-language forums. Held every other Thursday night at the new LSO headquarters at 226 St. Catherine St. East, the English forums supplement the regular French-language forums held every Friday.

Patricia Schulz opened the series with a speech on unemployment, an acute problem in Quebec where nearly half the unemployed in Canada live. It was followed by the long and lively discussion which has marked all the English forums.

"Civil War in Northern Ireland?," a speech by Arthur Young, Montreal LSO organizer, drew a much larger than expected crowd. Young gave the same speech at the previous French forum, on his return from Europe.

Another current topic, "The Crisis in Quebec Education," was discussed by Penny Simpson. She described the anarchic educational system — Quebec did not have a government department of education until 1964 — the speed-up being forced on the teachers, and the policy of the Quebec government, which makes subsidies to capital — a priority over education.

On June 19, Alain Beiner spoke on "Confederation and the Roots of Quebec Nationalism," an historical eye-opener about the real intentions of the Fathers of Confederation. This will be followed July 3 by "What is Trotskyism," a special presentation by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO from Toronto, and a film evening on Cuba to celebrate the 26th of July, the anniversary of the launching of the Cuban revolution.

English-speaking socialists who understand French have also been attending the Friday night forum series on the outstanding personalities of the twentieth century revolutionary movement, and their ideas. The series will end with an appreciation of Che Guevara. These have alternated with current topics such as the movement for unilateralism in Quebec.

A July series of French forums will be on "Historical Materialism," dealing with the development of society from primitive communism to modern times. Throughout the summer, the Ligue is also holding an intensive course on the Fourth International, based on the history by Pierre Frank (unavailable in English). About 20 persons attend these weekly classes.

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## Edmonton YS-LSA

## holding series

## of summer classes

by Dave Porter

The Edmonton Young Socialists in conjunction with the League for Socialist Action have finalized plans for an ambitious program of summer classes. The program includes four Educational Weekends, the first of which was held on the weekend of June 15 and dealt with Dialectical Materialism. A series of six classes covering the ABC's of Marxism is scheduled for the weekends of July 11-13 and July 25-27 and the final set on Marxist Economics will take place on Aug. 23-24.

Potential participants need not be afraid that the Edmonton summer educational program will resemble the so-called education of the bourgeois school system. All of the classes will be held in nearby parks; plenty of time will be available for questions and discussion; and all of the classes will be combined with picnics, baseball games, swimming and more.

In addition to the classes we've planned a series of films including 1) Mexico '68 & The Columbia Revolt, for July 12; 2) a series of new Cuban films on July 26; and 3) Czar to Lenin, on August 15. The Young Socialists are also attempting to organize a revolutionary theatre group.

Anyone interested in participating in, or finding out more about any of these activities should visit the Vanguard Bookstore at 10402 - 97 St. or phone 424-7644.

# Ontario readers invited to weekend classes on socialism

This year for the first time the southern Ontario Socialist Summer School is being held at Camp Poundmaker on the banks of the Salmon River near Kingston. The school will consist of six weekend classes taking place every second weekend from June 21 to August 23.

The main purpose of the school is to educate young radicals and socialists in the theory, traditions and history of the revolutionary socialist movement. At the same time all the classes will be closely related to the immediate problems rising from today's political situation.

The first class, held on the weekend of June 21, was highly successful and attracted over 40 participants. Based on the theme The LSA, the NDP and the Canadian Revolution, the class dealt with the relationship between the League for Socialist Action and

the New Democratic Party and discussed the type of organization that will be required to achieve socialism in Canada.

On the July 5 weekend the second class, will take up the topic The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions.

Further classes will deal with the following topics; The Struggle for Woman's Liberation (July 19-20); The Necessity of Socialism (August 2-3); Quebec and the National Question (August 16-17); Revolutionary Strategy and a Program for Today (August 23-24). In general the classes will consist of two major talks followed by group discussions.

Time will be allotted each weekend to ensure that class participants can relax and enjoy the camp facilities. Hikes, baseball games and other activities are planned during the day, and in the evenings there will be poetry readings, sing songs, corn roasts and so on.

Further information about the camp and details on the classes, costs, etc., can be obtained from the League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, or the Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto.


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# Housing crisis is topic at seminar

The New Democratic mayor of Halifax, Allen O'Brien, predicts that tenant organizations will come to function through collective bargaining, like trade unions. O'Brien told an Ontario-wide NDP seminar on municipal politics, which met in London June 14-15, that tenant organizations are now at the stage of development reached years ago by trade unions. They will settle such matters as rents through collective bargaining, and in time tenants will achieve full municipal franchise rights which now are largely the exclusive privilege of the "property-owning class."

O'Brien's speech was one of the highlights at the seminar, which for the most part did not rise above the level of defining the existing structure and problems of municipal government. Only the panels on pollution and housing indicated the socialist alternatives to big business control over municipal activities. Rev. Robert Wright, a leader in the struggle for public ownership of Lake Erie beaches, urged closure or government takeover of sources of pollution, should they fail to abide by a request to cease polluting the environment.

Regula Modlich, a townplanner (and only woman speaker of a dozen or more speakers at the seminar), spoke on the housing panel on urban renewal. She pointed to the NDP's housing platform, which treats housing as a direct government responsibility (i.e. public housing) as the necessary context for any urban renewal schemes. Asked to comment on cooperative and condominium housing, she said that such solutions did not solve



cross country  
with the NDP

the problem of speculation or profiteering developers. She proposed that the municipal public works departments should take over construction, while tenant control of public housing projects would create the necessary machinery to do away with the well-known problems associated with rental housing.

## Nominations

Bryan Belfont, the Socialist Caucus spokesman who contested the NDP provincial nomination in Vancouver South, received about 25 percent of the vote at the July 18 nominating convention. Four candidates vied to represent the 2-seat riding in the next Legislature. Norman Levi, sitting MLA, and John Laxton, provincial NDP president, were nominated.

Belfont campaigned energetically, calling upon the NDP to give all-out support to labor in its strike struggles, and to take the fight for socialism into the everyday struggles of the people. His campaign was the first effort of this nature by the Socialist Caucus, a group of NDP members based in B.C. and Ontario, which seeks to win the NDP to a socialist program and leadership.



# Appeals red-baiting clause

A year ago some members of the Oakville, Ont. local of the United Auto Workers invoked a clause in the constitution of the international to purge Jim Bridgewood as chairman of the Human Rights committee of the local and as a delegate to the Oakville and District Labor Council. They thereby set off a series of actions.

The clause, Article 10, Section 8, prohibits anyone alleged to be "a member of or subservient to any political organization such as the Communist, Fascist or Nazi organization which owes its allegiance to any government other than the United States or Canada, directly or indirectly" from holding any elective or appointive position in the international union or any local union.

This red-baiting clause is similar to many which are written into most of the constitutions of unions in both the U.S. and Canada. Nearly all the international unions have

them. The largest all-Canadian union, the 116,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees, bars Communists from even joining the union. In 1958 the British Columbia Supreme Court ruled that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers could expel communists. It refused to order the IBEW to reinstate ousted business manager George Gee.

Since Bridgewood had run as a CP candidate in last year's federal election, the witch hunters thought they had an open and shut case. But they hadn't taken into account that the climate has radically changed since 1941 when the discriminatory clause was imposed on the union.

Last week Bridgewood's appeal came before the UAW's Public Review Board. His earlier appeal to the Executive Board headed by that great posturing crusader Walter Reuther, after a delay of eight months, was rejected. The Review Board hasn't made its decision but the Canadian Region of the UAW representing 127,000 Canadian workers, meeting June 14 weekend at Port Elgin, unanimously passed a resolution submitted by Windsor Local 444 asking the International Executive Board to exempt Canada

from the anti-communist clauses in its constitution.

In his appeal Bridgewood cited the changes in the constitution of the Canadian Labor Congress made at the last convention which removed reference to communism from its exclusion section. The Metropolitan Toronto Labor Council and the Vancouver and District Labor Council subsequently amended their constitutions in line with that of the CLC.

But the witch hunters and red baiters are not giving up easy. Many of them are trying to hold on to such clauses with the excuse that they are largely inoperative. Leading this crew of bureaucrats is CLC president Donald MacDonald. On the eve of the UAW Review Board hearings, he sent a letter to Bridgewood to the effect that the CLC officers stand by a completely discriminatory interpretation of Article 3, Section 5 of the CLC constitution.

But the Bridgewood case has shaken up the whole situation. A campaign to solidly back his appeal through the UAW and CLC affiliates can succeed in routing out these rotten discriminatory clauses in unions in both Canada and the United States.

— Paul Kent

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# Quebec gov't threatens French school system

by Arthur Young

**MONTREAL** — The movement for the control by the Québécois of Quebec, and in their own language, French, gained an important victory last year in the Montreal suburb of St-Léonard. In the local school board elections, a majority was won by the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire (at that time called the Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire) which campaigned for a system of French-only elementary school education.

The "bilingual" education which the school board was dispensing until that time only led the vast majority of students into the English school system. The LIS held that the only way to assure the survival of the French language against the pressure of the language of the economically dominant group, English, was a French unilingual

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policy. The popular victory at the polls in St-Léonard created real unease among ruling class spokesmen from coast to coast.

The English-language press has given considerable publicity to the June 9 victory of the pro-bilingualism candidate in the St-Léonard school board elections, even picturing this victory as a popular rebuff of the French-only policy that the board established last year. In fact the situation in the St-Léonard schools remains unchanged.

The new school commissioner, Luigi Baroni, was elected by a large majority of 881 to 399 over a candidate favoring the present policy of the board. But Baroni merely replaces the outgoing commissioner who represented the same school district, and who was also pro-bilingualism. The district is only 40 percent French-speaking, and Baroni's victory was expected by almost everyone: it might be added that Baroni, a construction entrepreneur, is a prominent figure in the Italian community which comprises the remaining 60 percent of the population in the one school district. The majority of the St-Léonard board remains firmly committed to the idea of French-only schools.

The real threat to the victory won last year in St-Léonard comes not from the population of the Montreal suburb, but from the machinations of the provincial government and Education Minister Jean-Guy Cardinal. Cardinal has promised the English-speaking parents that he will intervene to eliminate the jurisdiction of the local school board, handing over control of the schools to a board favoring bilingual education.

Within the next two years the Quebec government will bring in a wide-ranging reform of the Montreal educational system. While this reform is expected to contain many sorely-needed measures (notably the elimination of religious divisions among the school systems) it is also designed to block the LIS from gaining electoral victories in the future. Opposition to this government project is growing, and will undoubtedly assume massive proportions when the text of the proposed law is revealed.

# Manitoba shows the way

by The Editors

The NDP is in power in Manitoba. Party leader Schreyer has been delayed from taking office only because of one of the many anti-democratic devices that the capitalist class have carefully built into parliamentary democracy — this time that the past premier can remain in office until the last absentee ballot is counted and the returns are actually published in the *Manitoba Gazette*.

The Liberals there, while in power in Ottawa, are in a state of collapse. One of their longtime leaders declared that "the Liberal Party is dead" as he identified himself with the NDP, thereby giving it an absolute majority over the combined capitalist party representation in the legislature. The lone Socred member may seek solace in the post of speaker and so increase the stability of the NDP majority. The Tories are in a state of deep shock, not only at their losing the government but at seeing their vote plummet from 39 percent down to 35 percent and the NDP vote skyrocket from 23 percent to 39 percent of the vote.

It is obvious that the heads of the capitalist party machines see no way out of this defeat. Were they to force another election it is apparent that the NDP would only increase its majority. They do not attribute the NDP breakthrough to the personal qualities of the new youthful leader of the party, to an "image" which can fade just as Trudeau's has been fading. They know full well that the NDP victory is not a fluke but is a reflection of the deepening discontent across the country and the developing difficulties in the economy which are sharpest right now in the prairies. They hold little hope that the NDP could be blocked by a coalition of their forces. Besides, with only one of their three parties having a strong majority in almost every other province, such a cure could prove worse than the disease.

The redistribution, which gave a more  
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## INSIDE:

New NDP document:

'For an independent,  
socialist Canada'

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# workers Vanguard

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July 14, 1969

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## Trudeau's Indian policy means more of this

EVICTED FROM HOME, Mrs. Mabel Driver and her children look at their furniture piled in a neighbor's yard in Toronto. The Drivers agreed to forfeit their land on an Indian reserve to a white man in return for a house in the city, but were then evicted from the house for arrears of payments. Their situation underscores the plight of Canada's 200,000 treaty Indians, who are being forced by rotten living conditions off the reserves into the cities where

they face further unemployment, sickness, and poor housing.

The federal government recently announced plans to abolish its Indian Affairs department within five years, thereby depriving treaty Indians of medicare, free schooling, housing grants, tax-free status, protection of lands from seizure and other rights to which they are entitled under the present Indian Act.

# New tenants group plans Oct. 4 march

by Dick Fidler

Tenants are the fastest-growing and one of the most maligned groups in our society. They pay up to half their income — sometimes more — for rent; yet whether they live in high rise or slums, they are at the complete mercy of landlords. Tenants are subject to rent increases without explanation, eviction on short notice, leases which deprive them of their very few rights, security deposits which are seldom returned in full, and discrimination against children, single parent families, pets, etc. In some cities, they still can't vote in municipal elections.

But the tenants' ranks are swelling, thanks to an escalation of housing prices which has made home ownership impossible for 85 percent of the urban population. Between 20 and 30 percent of the population in the larger cities are tenants; in Montreal it is about 80 percent. And because of the housing shortage, rents are shooting up — in

Toronto, by 50 percent in the last three years.

Tenants are beginning to fight back, however. A specter is now haunting the landlords — the specter of tenant power. And the movement took a big step forward when several tenant organizations met in Kingston June 27-29 to form the Ontario Tenants' Association (OTA).

The OTA has now called a march for tenants rights on Queen's Park, Toronto, on October 4. The march will demand reform of the Landlord and Tenants Act to provide for complete security of tenure, rent regulation, legal recognition of collective bargaining for tenants, as well as a massive program of public housing to resolve the housing crisis.

The October 4 march will be followed by a conference that weekend to consolidate the Ontario Tenants Association, fill in its

program, ratify its structures and elect a slate of officers. Already, the initial response to the organization has been enthusiastic, with many inquiries coming in for help in organizing new tenants groups.

The Kingston conference was hosted by the Association for Tenants' Action, Kingston (ATAK), and attended by about 100 people, including a dozen delegations from tenants associations and citizens groups in Toronto, Kingston, Ottawa, Brampton, Hamilton and Peterborough. Many of the participants represented tenants groups in public housing units under the Ontario Housing Corporation. There was a delegation from the high-rise Eastmount apartments, which experienced two rent strikes last year, and a delegation from the Just Society, an organization of mothers on welfare in Toronto, with affiliates in several public housing units. There were seven observers from

No Other Way (NOW), a citizens action group in Calgary which picketed Prime Minister Trudeau when he visited that city recently.

The delegates showed a very clear understanding that they were grappling with not just a landlord-tenant problem, but a crisis of housing in general. A large part of the conference agenda was devoted to workshop on the economics of housing, municipal planning and urban renewal, public housing as well as the Landlord-Tenant Act, rent control, rent review and rent regulation grass roots organizing, and negotiation an arbitration.

A plenary session of delegates on the Saturday night drew up a preliminary program based on the concept that tenants should control the management of the buildings in which they live. Membership in the association

(See page 6)



# Young Socialists project major intervention on the campuses

by Jacquie Henderson

Thirty-five leading members of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes from across Canada met in Toronto June 28-29 to discuss their experiences over the past school year. This plenum of the Executive Council of the YS/LJS analyzed the growing radicalization of Canadian students and projected the development of student struggles at an increasing tempo for the coming year.

The first item on the agenda was an International Report, discussing the leading role of youth in the developing world struggle for socialism. Susan La Mont, a leader of the American Young Socialist Alliance, supplementing the report, related the prominent role of the YSA in the struggles that have rocked U.S. campuses over the past year.

She noted the impact that the struggle for black liberation and against the war in Vietnam have had on the radicalization of students. Both reports stressed the importance of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese who are in the forefront of the world struggle against imperialism and for socialism, and the importance for revolutionaries everywhere to defend their struggle by continuing to build demonstrations around the demands for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The major discussion of the weekend centered around the Political Report, given by Gary Porter, outgoing executive secretary. This report dealt with the student movement in both English and French Canada, with particular emphasis on Quebec, where the student movement as a whole and the LJS in particular have gone through a profound experience over the past year. The student movement is moving forward in spite of a lack of leadership which causes the struggles to remain sporadic and localized.

## Crisis of leadership

This crisis of leadership is reflected in the student unions, UGEQ (Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec) and the Canadian Union of Students (CUS). The radicals who took over these unions saw the alternatives before them as being either to ignore the

backwardness of the student body and move ahead of it in actions that isolated the radicals rather than educating the mass of the students or, on the other hand, to simply reflect the present political level of the students, following rather than leading them.

Many radicals in the individual campus-based student power organizations such as the Students for a Democratic University suffer from the same lack of understanding of how to educate students to the nature of the system by mobilizing them into struggle around defensively formulated demands that attack real problems students face.

This poses an important task before the YS/LJS — to educate the movement through action and through the circulation of socialist literature, particularly *Jeune Garde* and *Young Socialist Forum*. Young Socialist Clubs on campuses across the country have already played an important role in this respect.

Gilbert Rousseau, organizer of the Montreal LJS, explained it this way in the discussion: "Because our analysis is most consistent, we must attempt to take the leadership of the student movement. We should not limit ourselves to education and cadre building, even though this remains a priority. One of the best ways to do this is through action."

## Ultra-lefts

The past year saw the entry of ultra-left Maoist tendencies onto the Canadian student scene in the form of two separate organizations. This poses even more sharply the need for the YS/LJS to provide the student movement with the Marxist method and, flowing out of that, a program for linking up the struggle to change the university and high school with the struggle to change society as a whole.

While much lip service is paid to the concept of the "worker-student alliance," many ultra-leftists, the Maoists in particular, reject it in practise since they reject as "bourgeois" the present organizations of the

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workers, the trade unions and the New Democratic Party.

### Breakthrough in Quebec

The key breakthrough for the YS/LJS over the last school year was the sinking of deep roots in the Québécois student movement. This was marked at the plenum by adding two members of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes to the executive council. It was stressed that the double oppression of the Québécois, not only as workers and students but as a nation, has meant that the radicalization in Quebec has been much more widespread than in English Canada. The development of Québécois leadership puts the LJS in a unique position to lead this radicalization forward. The need to educate English Canadian students about the significance of the national struggle of the Québécois was emphasized.

The report discussed the experience of the YS/LJS in building the movement against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and against the Canadian government's complicity in that aggression. It stressed the need to continue to organize students along with other sectors of society in mass demonstrations for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The report greeted the formation of a number of organizations in Canada calling for women's liberation. Young Socialists participate in these groups, building them, helping them to develop a program for women and encouraging them to engage in actions. Young Socialists also carry independent action for women's liberation such as the "drink-in" held in Montreal this spring, the brief they presented to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women last summer, and the summer school classes on women's liberation being held in many areas.

Participants in the plenum were eager to relate their own experiences to the report. Outstanding were the experiences of Vancouver Young Socialists who were arrested during the occupation of Simon Fraser University's administration building last November. They spoke on the need to carry through the struggle by defending those attacked, not to capitulate before the courts. The first of the trials of those pleading "not guilty" including all the Young Socialists arrested, began July 2.

### Expansion

The Organizational Report spoke of the need for organizational flexibility to take advantage of the big opportunities open to the YS/LJS. The movement has grown considerably during the past year, with an influx of high school and university students giving the organization a firmer student base. Three new locals of the YS/LJS have been formed since the school year began, and many new

Young Socialist clubs. *Young Socialist Forum* has doubled its circulation in recent months, and *Jeune Garde* has widened its circulation. To knit the movement together, an expanded program of regional and cross country tours will be undertaken by YS leaders in the coming period.

The impressive growth of the LJS was reflected in the addition of two Québécois, Denis Lambert, a leading activist on the Université de Montréal campus, and Gilbert Rousseau, to the executive council, thus considerably strengthening the cross-Canada leadership.

The plenum heard fraternal greetings from Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. At a party on Saturday night, the

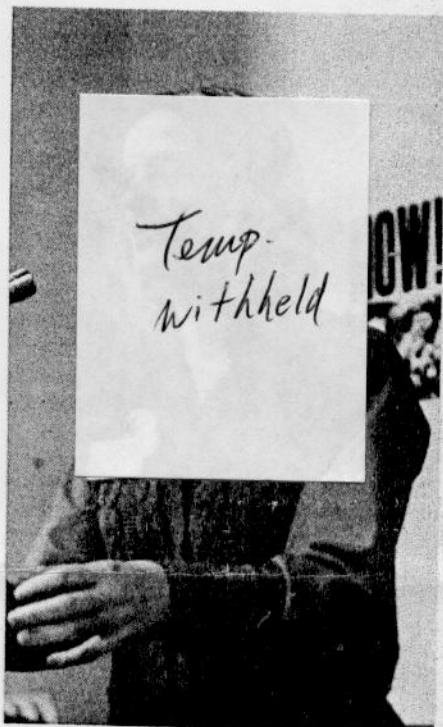


photo by A. Mintz

### Jacquie Henderson executive secretary, YS/LJS

Young Socialists expressed their appreciation to Gary and Kate Porter, respectively former executive secretary and former Toronto local organizer, for their contribution to the movement. Gary Porter is moving out of the YS/LJS to take up new responsibilities in the League for Socialist Action.

The plenum called a full convention of the membership for October and elected Jacquie Henderson, editor of *Young Socialist Forum*, to the position of executive secretary. The weekend closed with the singing of the Internationale.

# Violence at parade shows Quebec tension

by Marilyn Raphael

MONTREAL — For the second straight year, the tensions of Quebec society exploded amid the official gaiety of the St. Jean Baptiste parade.

Behind the glittering floats, clowns, bands and majorettes, "Québécois dans la rue" (In the streets, Québécois!) was the reply given by the 15,000 demonstrators who joined the "People's March."

The Front de Libération Populaire, the main organizers of the march, carried on a two-week publicity campaign among workers and students to encourage participation in the event. Despite police rejection of its application for a parade permit and threats from Lucien Saulnier, chairman of the Executive Committee of Montreal, that the parade "would be banned from the streets of Montreal forever if there is a repetition of the violence that occurred during last years' parade," the FLP decided to proceed with the march.

The People's March was intended to draw attention to poverty and unemployment in the Montreal area and the organizers objected to what they termed the "St. Jean Baptiste big businessmen's parade," a reference to the highly commercial character of the floats represented in the parade.

When the official parade had passed the reviewing stand, thousands of young people moved into the street to join the People's March which the police had vowed to prevent. Police with motorcycles and riot clubs

continually harassed the marchers and at one point split the march into two parts. But the numerical strength of the demonstration dictated against any attempt by police to break up the march at the outset.

Many spectators along the parade route responded to the call of the demonstrators for "Québécois dans la rue." Linking arms, demonstrators chanted slogans such as "le Québec aux Québécois," "le Québec aux travailleurs" (Quebec to the workers). When the march passed McGill University the crowd responded with chants of "McGill français," and "McGill aux Québécois".

The front of the People's March caught the rear of the parade and demonstrators surged forward overturning the symbolic float of St. Jean Baptiste. At this point police moved in and attempted to disperse the demonstrators. However, about 1000 people turned and marched down St. Catharine St., the main shopping district of Montreal. When word came that the Riot Squad was on its way, a small minority, out of sheer anger and frustration at police intimidation, smashed department store windows.

Against the attempts of city officials to show the gaiety and glitter of the day, the People's March demonstrated overwhelmingly that there is another "face" to Quebec society. "Quebec Mon Amour," (Quebec my love) the official theme of the parade, somehow seemed out of place on Quebec's national day, 1969.



# ***Convention confirms crisis in NDP Youth***

by Arnie Mintz

The Young New Democrats (YND) held a federal convention attended by seventy-five delegates and observers in Ottawa June 28 to July 1. Most of the discussion centered around a debate on the direction of the YND. Delegates expressed concern that there were only a few active clubs and that YNDers were concentrating their political activity in other political formations.

Nine out of ten policy papers were referred off the convention floor and never came up for a vote. The student movement in Canada was hardly dealt with at all. Procedural haggling marked the proceedings, and few delegates were willing to stand for executive positions.

The situation was even further complicated when Bill Lenihan resigned as president "for personal reasons" only two days after being elected. He was replaced by Chris Thurrott of Nova Scotia.

The convention confirmed the impasse in which the YND finds itself. Its inability to define what kind of group it is (particularly

with respect to the New Democratic Party) and where it is going (especially in respect to the student movement, the main arena at present of youth radicalization), have put a question mark around its continued existence.

One thing that came out of the gathering was a definite desire to intervene in the federal NDP convention this fall. But beyond the obvious observation that the Youth are more radical than the NDP, the kind of change desired in the party is not too clear. Some delegates seemed to be advocating a split from the NDP, while others appeared to advise not rocking the boat too much. The YND's direction remains unclear.

A notable feature at the conference was the interest in the program of the Young Socialists, now the most prominent and active partisans of the NDP on the student left. Young Socialists made arrangements for speaking tours with some of the delegates, and sold over \$35 worth of literature.

# Security report threatens civil rights

by John Riddell

Full government power to open private letters, tap phones, and electronically snoop on the private activities of citizens has been recommended by the Royal Commission on Security, whose report reveals clearly the threat to our rights posed by government "anti-subversive" activities.

Tabling the report in the House of Commons June 26, Prime Minister Trudeau declared the government's intention to carry out a substantial part of its recommendations.

In most aspects the report merely rationalizes present government practices. But ominously, the radical independentists of Québec are now singled out as perhaps the most dangerous threat to the security of the state, and lumped together with Trotskyists and "communists" to be treated as a subversive force.

Thus a report commissioned in response to public outcry against the RCMP's denial of citizens rights in its chase for "subversives" proposes to extend even further these arbitrary powers of Canada's secret police.

Of course, there's lots of talk about how to keep the James Bonds of hostile powers from getting hold of Canada's secrets. Those of us once inclined to pooh-poo such spy stories have good reason to be alarmed now that the activities of the CIA have become known to all. Its subversion includes even overthrowing governments disapproved of in Washington. It was the U.S. secret police that used RCMP information to hound leading Canadian diplomat Herbert Norman to his suicide in the '50's with charges that he had been a communist.

The report backs exchange of secret information with the U.S., however, and dismisses any danger from the spies of other capitalist powers — for example spies of the Greek dictatorship or Spanish fascism who threaten the security of their citizens living in Canada.

But Canada has an "adversary relationship" with the "communist powers," we are told, and the cold war must be waged more fiercely. For example wily reds must not be allowed to use academic and cultural exchanges to learn about and utilize our

"industrial, scientific and technological achievements."

But the report is just as concerned about "subversion" by Canadian citizens. What is a "subversive organization"? The report defines it as one which poses "a threat to the fundamental nature of the state or the stability of society in its broadest sense, and makes use of means which the majority would regard as undemocratic." That reference to undemocratic means is strictly window dressing is shown by the definition of subversive activities to include everything from assassination to "political pressure," "lobbying" and the spreading of "fear, doubt and despondency." No attempt is made to establish that "communists," Trotskyists or "separatists" use violence or illegal means.

The Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, for example, are singled out for attention as an important facet of "communist subversive activity": the Trotskyist movement's "militancy and skill give it greater potential influence than its strength would indicate." Trotskyist influence in the Quebec liberation movement is cited as particularly menacing.

There is no hearing or legal recourse; no charges are laid; there is not even any evidence. Nor could there be, for revolutionary socialists openly state their aim and program — to convince the majority of the need for a socialist transformation of society, through education and political action. Far from advocating violence, they advocate the right of the majority to reshape society, and to defend this right if it is attacked.

Yet with criminal arrogance, the report backs the government's practise of arbitrarily authorizing secret police surveillance and harassment of radical groups like the LSA/LSO.

For the Royal Commission, and the government and state apparatus whose views it reflects, subversion is anything which threatens "the fundamental nature of the state or the stability of society" — in other words, threatens the capitalist order and the massive state apparatus which protects it.

It is the royal commission which actually operated with all the trappings of a sub-

# NDP must demand end to police snooping

versive conspiracy, meeting in secret, listening to carefully selected witnesses, issuing a report made public only after censorship, which maps out plans to subvert democratic principles through illegal means — from electronic snooping to opening of private mail.

These secret police powers threaten the entire labor movement, and every citizen. In recent years citizens have been hounded out of jobs for the merest hints of associa-

leadership. M. J. Coldwell, longtime leader of the NDP's predecessor, the CCF, was one of the three members of the commission. In a preliminary statement in the House of Commons, NDP leader T. C. Douglas accepted the entire framework of the report — the "responsibility of maintaining the security and integrity of the state against subversion" — and congratulated the RCMP on its "very excellent service." Douglas debated merely whether the security force should be civilian.

The NDP leadership assumes that the state apparatus is socially neutral, and will carry out the will of even a socialist parliamentary majority. They have preached the cold-war doctrine of defending this "democratic" capitalist state against "totalitarian" communism.

Their position is ironic, for on more than one occasion it has been shown that police have included dossiers on NDP or CCF top leaders in their files of those who pose a threat to security of the state.

And the security machine they defend works to ensure that the army, the RCMP and the state bureaucracy, far from reflecting the diversity of opinion of the Canadian people, are a carefully screened and compliant tool of Canada's capitalist rulers, a tool that can continue to carry out the wishes of Bay St., even if an NDP government were to be elected.

T. C. Douglas supported the report's one suggested reform — a call for a Security Review Board (with limited advisory powers to act as a court of appeal for citizens against arbitrary government actions).

But it's high time to challenge the whole concept of a secret-police security force. The main danger to the security of Canadians is not communist spies. It is the continuing subversion of our rights by the giant corporations and their government and police apparatus, and the threat to our very existence posed by U.S. imperialism. A first step to guarantee these rights should be the outlawing of government "anti-subversive" letter-opening, wiretapping and electronic snooping, and the abolition of the RCMP's Security and Intelligence division.



**T. C. Douglas**  
**Congratulates RCMP**

tion with communism. During the second world war, the entire Japanese community was driven from their homes and robbed of their property in the name of "security," even though no act of sabotage was proven against them. The chase for "subversives" has led the government into the trade unions, aiding witch-hunts against radicals or militants.

Not the least scandal of this report is the willing participation and support of the NDP

## Sold socialist papers; jailed, fined in Quebec

MONTREAL — Two supporters of the newspaper *La Lutte Ouvrière*, including its editor, have been found guilty of "illegal distribution" of the publication during the demonstration against the Union Nationale government at Quebec City on June 21. They were fined a total of \$111.

In finding them guilty under a municipal law which forbids distribution of printed material without the authorization of the chief of police, the judge remarked that this newspaper had a clearly socialist and revolutionary character. The police had seized and still hold a considerable number of copies of the paper.

Two other people were found not guilty on the same charge.

The newspaper of the Front de Libération Populaire, *La Masse*, had been seized on the pretext that it didn't carry the names of its editor and printer. About 15 persons spent some time in prison for possessing the paper. The police also seized leaflets distributed by a Maoist group.

The Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, a main organizer of the Quebec demonstration, expressed its solidarity with the two *La Lutte* supporters by paying their fines.

— *La Lutte Ouvrière*



# Roll back anti-labor drive; elect NDP to power in B.C.!

see page 8

## INSIDE:

What the moon feat  
means for earthlings

page 8

## Steel strike ranks firm; reject offer

by Our Hamilton Correspondent

AUGUST 6 — Although the executive of Steelworkers Local 1005 and the majority of the negotiating committee recommended acceptance of Stelco's offer to a mass meeting of strikers here yesterday, it was resoundingly defeated by the ranks in today's vote.

Last February the membership in two mass meetings authorized Local 1005's new leadership to take on Stelco for a total wage package in a two year contract that was over twice the amount won in the previous three year contract. There was firm determination to regain an escalator clause which would assure automatic wage increases with each rise in the cost of living. The formula projected was estimated to work out, if current inflationary trends continued, to an additional 21 cents an hour over the agreed upon maximum two year contract.

But when president Ron Tipler presented Stelco's offer with his approval he was met with an outburst of boos, whistles and cat-calls.

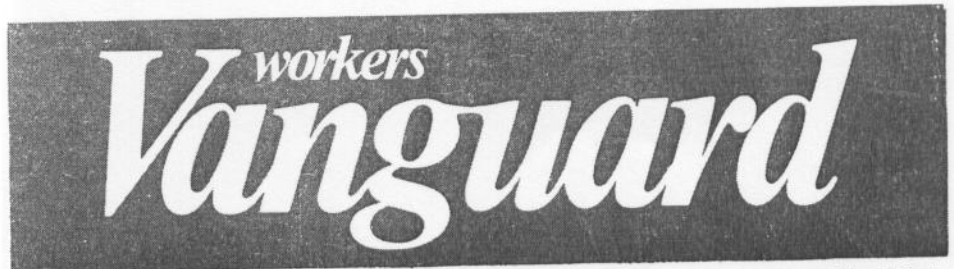
The offer, over which the negotiating committee was split 4 for, 3 against, was 55 cents an hour, not over two years but spread over three years. As for the escalator clause—it was not to go into effect until next year and on top of that was to be limited to a maximum of 3 cents in 1970 and 5 cents in 1971.

The disappointment and anger that was expressed through the assembled 7 to 8,000 workers who had closed down the sprawling Hilton works on Thursday at midnight was fired up by a leaflet that was widely distributed. It urged a no vote and a return to negotiations for a "contract with which we can live." It was signed by 18 union activists, among them 12 stewards, five of them chief stewards, a chairman, and an assistant chief steward.

In bitter reaction to the leadership's rotten compromise hundreds of members stormed out of the meeting as late comers were only arriving.

The vote was taken at strategic places around the Hamilton plant now encircled by a picket line and at smaller plants in the Hamilton area, Brantford, Gananoque and Toronto.

This was the first real test of this leadership which gained considerable support for its democratic practices. But its miserable showing at this testing point only proves that democracy is not a substitute for but only a means through which we can develop a principled and militant leadership.



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August 11, 1969

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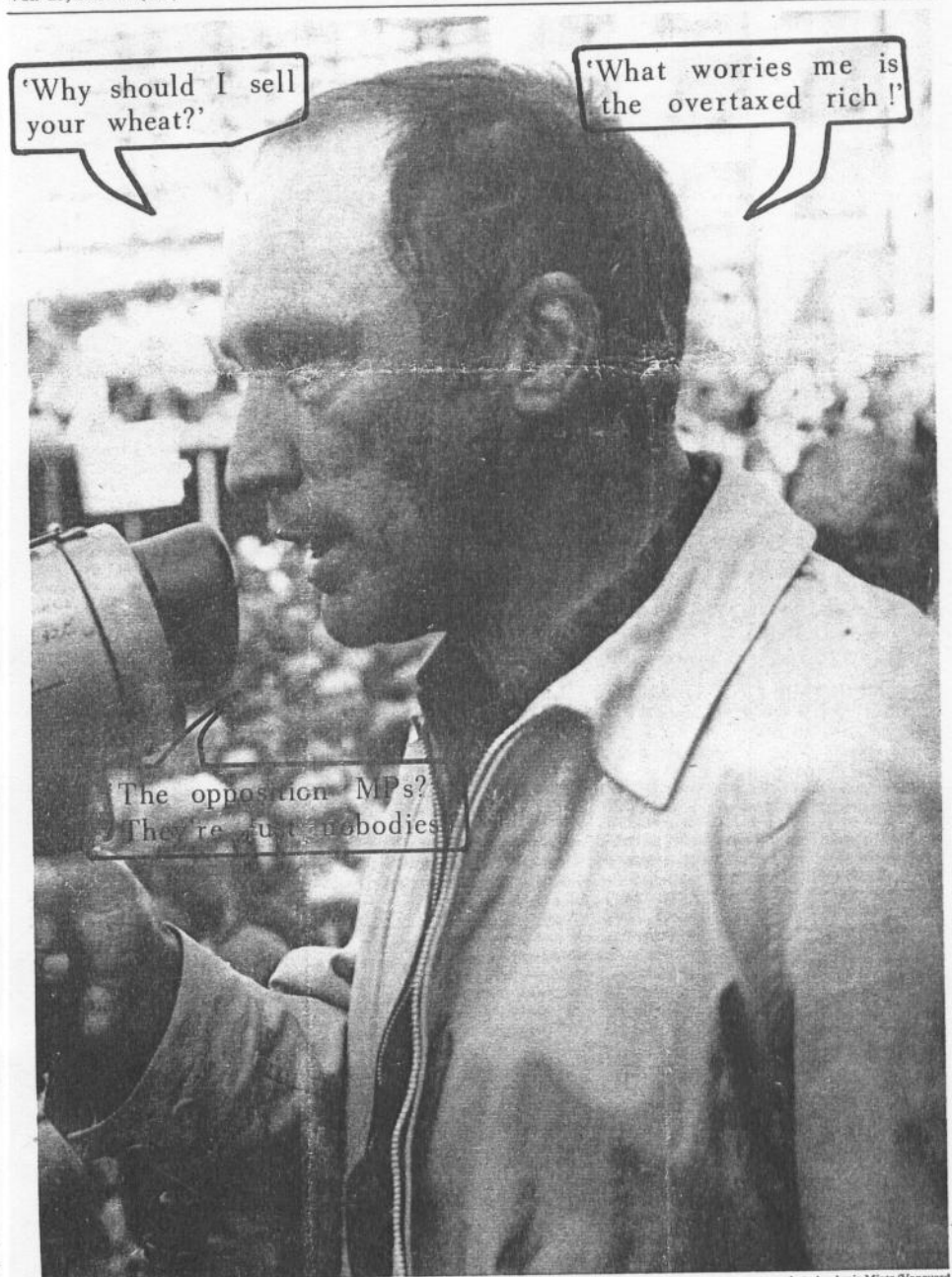


photo by Arnie Mintz/Vanguard

Prairie wheat farmers (here, in Saskatoon) were the latest to be reminded by "swinger" Trudeau that the Just Society is just for the rich.

# Roll back anti-labor drive; elect NDP to power in B.C.!

by Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER — No matter how New Democrats react to the issues in the British Columbia election, called by Premier Bennett for August 27, they share a powerful anticipation that the NDP is heading for power in this province. This mood of victory is not wishful thinking. The groundswell of support for the NDP, already evident before the election had set into motion the rank and file constituency campaigns, reflects the crisis confronting the old-line capitalist parties across the country.

First reports from NDP nominating conventions and campaign rallies indicate large turnouts everywhere.

The same reaction against the big business parties that brought victory to the NDP in Manitoba, is operating in B.C. The Liberal party, already weak in B.C., suffers from its association with Trudeau. The long-entrenched Social Credit regime is troubled on many fronts.

A backlog of unresolved strikes, lock-outs, endless negotiations and now some disappointing settlements for labor have

embittered many sectors of the union rank and file. The settlements — hardly enough wage-wise to make up for the harsh impact of inflation, price-gouging, rent hikes — do almost nothing to solve the deterioration of job conditions and impending layoffs in basic industries across the province.

Over the past year in B.C. tenants' organizations, movements against price increases, anti-pollution movements, committees for educational reforms, the student movement, etc., have drawn support away from the old-line capitalist parties.

The devastating effects of the government's freezes on school construction and hospital expansion have brought significant new support for the NDP from teachers and public health officials. The B.C. Teachers Federation has launched a big campaign to expose the government's backward educational policies, and their campaign operates mainly in favor of the NDP.

The *unspoken* issue of the campaign, but the central issue for labor and the NDP, is the dogged anti-labor drive of

the Social Credit government. Synchronized with the unanimous decision of the Employers' Council of B.C. to hold the line against labor on wages and demands for a shorter work week, it has escalated the use of injunctions and anti-picketing rulings beyond all previous proportions. But the NDP has yet to raise Bill 33 and the anti-labor policies of the government and the courts in this campaign.

Berger's basic approach has cut across the identification of the NDP with the labor movement. He is conducting a riding-to-riding campaign focussing on local issues — pollution here, school construction there, hospitals here and there, etc. The NDP leader's strategy banks on several assumptions: that the Social Credit government has run out of steam; that the basic NDP vote can be taken for granted; and that to win votes from dissident Social Crediters and Liberals, it is necessary to cater to the traditional free enterprise and liberal illusions commonly attributed to the so-called middle class, professional and small business vote.

Premier Bennett caught a raw nerve in Berger when he proclaimed that the issue in this campaign was socialism versus free enterprise. Berger responded, "tongue in cheek" as the press reported, by laughing at Bennett. He pointed to all the businessmen and lawyers, accountants and self-employed professionals who are standing as NDP candidates. He went on to place the NDP on record as being in favour of free enterprise! What the NDP is for, Berger explained, is more free enterprise — help for small enterprisers to compete against big business!

This approach could well cool the enthusiasm and support evident in broad layers of the working population for the NDP. But the campaign is only now shifting out of low gear. The ranks of the NDP have yet to add their momentum to the party's campaign. The shoulder thrust of the campaign, in spite of the businessmen candidates and the liberal-reformist yearnings of the leadership, is labor to power against the entrenched boss government.

And that means, NDP to Power.

8/Vanguard/August 11, 1969

workers

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## NDP aims to repeat Manitoba success

# Challenge before the Manitoba NDP

by Dick Fidler

What are the tasks ahead for Manitoba's new NDP government?

This is the question posed by columnist Charles Biesick in the July 16 issue of the NDP's prairie paper, *The Commonwealth*. His answer? Not much. "All the NDP government is able to do," he maintains, "is to carry out certain progressive reforms. These reforms have been well publicized and are of the kind that no reasonably enlightened person could object to."

The only specific measures he lists are "lower medicare premiums, low-cost auto insurance" and "greater tax exemptions for homeowners." There is no reason why the Liberals couldn't support these measures, he notes, and thus "no reason why the NDP government, in spite of its slender majority, shouldn't be able to carry on for a full term and set Manitoba on the road to progress."

If you think a full term — four years — is a long time to have to put up with reforms which are satisfactory to Liberals, Biesick

explains that constitutional limitations won't allow the government to go much further anyway. "Within the limits of provincial power the NDP government cannot establish the just society that everyone is talking about."

For the sake of argument, let's accept his latter contention. But what *can* the Manitoba NDP government do on the provincial level, even within the limitations imposed by the constitution of the Canadian capitalist state?

To begin with, it can implement its election program which included elimination of medicare premiums (Premier Ed Schreyer proposes an 80 to 90 percent reduction in premiums, effective September 1); elimination of transit fares; and full self-determination for Indians in all their dealings with the government.

The NDP also promised a public housing corporation; why not undertake a massive program of public housing to bring accommodation and rents within range of everyone's income? Legislation should be brought in to recognize tenants' associations, and collective bargaining with landlords.

An NDP government could move to implement T. C. Douglas' demand for a prices review board, and provide it with power to open the corporation books to reveal the real source of inflationary price rises.

It could raise revenue by immediately implementing substantial increases in the royalties of the mining giants like Inco, and the Hudsons Bay Mining and Smelting Company. It could end the huge tax concessions doled out to the CPR. It would abolish the provincial five percent sales tax. It could impose a steeply graduated income tax to siphon off the profits of the rich.

Corporations that threatened to move out of Manitoba because of taxes and other government policies could be nationalized, and operated in the public interest.

An NDP government should throw out all laws restricting the right of working people to organize and strike. It should raise the

minimum wage to meet today's living costs, and abolish wage discrimination between men and women for the same jobs. It should spread available jobs around by actively encouraging the shorter work week at the same take-home pay, as a first step to solving the growing unemployment problem.

An NDP government should buy the farmers' unsold wheat, and pay them full value for it.

An NDP government should make education free for everyone at all levels, up to and including university. It should democratize the universities by throwing out the business-dominated boards of governors and placing control in the hands of students and faculty. It should provide adequate day care nurseries for the children of all working mothers. It should relieve the overtaxed and under-served municipalities of responsibility for schools in their areas.

Finally, an NDP government could speak for the working people of Manitoba on national and international affairs, through such means as resolutions in the legislature, and active participation by government members in mobilizations against, for example, the Vietnam war. It could refuse to tolerate American military bases at Churchill and elsewhere.

Where such stands led to confrontations with the business interests, their political parties, and their government at Ottawa, is there any reason to doubt the NDP's ability to mobilize popular support behind it not just in Manitoba, but right across the country? And support not just for its program, but for altered constitutional powers to implement that program?

There are many other things a provincial NDP government can do. But the main thing is that it have a clear commitment and intention to carry out the fundamental changes aspired to by the working people who elected it to power. That is the challenge facing the new Manitoba government.

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# Vietnamese hail Canadian demonstrations

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee, which is conducting actions across the country against the Vietnam war during August 6-9, anniversary dates of the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has released the following message addressed to the Canadian anti-war movement. It is from Nguyen Ngoc Dung, a member of the South Vietnam Revolutionary Provisional Government, and former member of the executive committee of the Students Union for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

"We are pleased to find friends in our struggle everywhere. The demonstration you are holding today is an inspiring action. We are sincerely grateful to you in the name of our people carrying on the struggle against American aggression for our national cause.

"The U.S., in sending its troops to South Vietnam, declared war against the people of Vietnam. They must withdraw all their troops from our country without having the right to any condition.

"We have the full conviction of your total support in our struggle for total victory.

"We send you best wishes of the youth and students of South Vietnam."



**U.S. EMBASSY PICKETED.** Ottawa demonstration on July 19 protested "15 years of genocide" by U.S. in Vietnam since the signing of the Geneva Accords. Draft resisters, in conjunction with Vietnam Mobilization Committee which sponsored the march, held a day long "reading of the names" of the 37,000 U.S. war dead. Speakers at the memorial meeting included Ian Angus, VMC chairman; Charlotte MacEwan of the Voice of Women; and Sam Adams, from Boston's Veterans Against the War.

## **Broad left forms in NDP**

### ***An important ("Waffle") document***

by Anne Macdonald (pseudonym RD)  
(from *Workers' Vanguard*, August 1969) (Berth of "Waffle" – Web Ed.)

The document "For an Independent, Socialist Canada" (see *Vanguard*, July 14) now being circulated among the left of the New Democratic Party, is a significant new development in the continuing debate over the direction and program of the NDP.

The document, or "manifesto," as its authors refer to it, challenges many key concepts embodied in the party's traditional program and upheld by its present leadership. What is more, the manifesto's sponsors are prominent members of the party, whose commitment to building the NDP cannot be questioned.

They now include leading party officials, elected NDP representatives, leading trade unionists and academics, and a large number of serious rank and file members. The document should therefore be carefully analyzed by all who are concerned with winning the NDP to socialism.

Generally, the document presents an alternative perspective far to the left of previous party policy.

### **Progressive**

Starting from "nationalism," that is, a concern with Canada's vanishing independence in relation to the United States, the manifesto acknowledges the anti-imperialist implications of this position, and concludes that "capitalism must be replaced by socialism," which it correctly identifies with "national planning of investment" and "the public ownership of the means of production..." It rejects the concept of "an independence movement based on substituting Canadian capitalists for American capitalists, or on public policy to make foreign corporations behave as if they were Canadian corporations."

The document clearly projects the need to go beyond the "welfare state" and "liberal capitalism" toward a "redistribution of power." To this effect, it outlines a greatly expanded role for workers in the industrial process, including "effective control in the determination of working conditions and substantial power in determining the nature of the product, prices and so on."

Moreover, the document sees the NDP as much more than an electoral or parliamentary machine. "The first priority of the NDP," it says, must be "the development of socialist consciousness," through building a "mass base of socialists, in factories and offices, on farms and campuses." It advocates active participation by socialists in extra-parliamentary movements like tenants unions, co-operatives and neighborhood organizations.

## **Lacks class analysis**

Many concepts in the document are only touched upon and will require elaboration in subsequent discussions among its supporters. However, the document as it stands also suffers from some important omissions and even errors which must be corrected if the discussion is to go forward. It is in this light that the following comments are made.

The fundamental problem of the manifesto lies in its absence of a class analysis, that is, an analysis based on a scientific understanding of the underlying social contradictions and class conflicts in the capitalist system. Its approach is essentially idealist, not materialist; socialism is simply presented, as desirable, not as the historically progressive system that it is — the necessary next stage in the development of society.

One result of this is that while the manifesto correctly points to what it terms the "corporate elite's" role of "junior partner" with U.S. imperialism, it seriously underestimates the importance of the Canadian capitalist class as an obstacle to socialism in Canada. Canada is ruled by a capitalist class, a homogeneous closed ruling circle with its own definable class interests. Because this class seldom if ever comes into conflict with U.S. capitalist interests, it may appear to be completely subservient to them. But it would be quite incorrect to conclude from this that Canada is simply a colony, or that its ruling circles are similar in all respects to the comprador bourgeoisie of the classic colonial countries.

In Canada, a developed capitalist country, imperialist economic integration has been carried to its furthest point, with the active collaboration and assistance of the Canadian ruling class which has in return been granted a favored position in "the American empire." The multi-national corporation, with its U.S. shareholders and its Canadian directors, may lead to confusion when it comes to determining the nationality of ultimate corporate control; but it is the Canadian ruling class and its political representatives in the Tory and Liberal parties who bear responsibility for anti-labor legislation, corporation tax write-offs, and inadequate welfare legislation, and who continue to reject out of hand even minimal accommodation to the growing demands from French Canada for political and economic equality with English Canada.

## **Need new type of state**

Its complicity with U.S. Imperialism's attempts to crush the anti-capitalist national liberation movement in Vietnam, originates not so much from its subservience to U.S. imperialist interests, as from its highly-developed self-conscious awareness of the long-range interests of world capitalism, and its recognition of Washington's role as foremost defender of that system.

In the last analysis, the "redistribution of power" in Canada must mean the substitution of working class rule for the present capitalist rule, the creation of a new type of state, a workers state. "Socialist consciousness" can only be built by relating our demands to this necessity for the socialist transformation of class relationships.



The error of a fundamentally classless analysis is particularly evident in the document's all-too-rudimentary discussion of Quebec. The slogan "two nations, one struggle," which it advances, is a dangerous over-simplification that ignores the independent dynamic and tempo of the national struggle of the Québécois against both U.S. And **English Canadian** capital and the latter's political power concentrated in the centralized state apparatus. Moreover, by predicating a "united Canada" as of "critical importance" in fighting U.S. imperialism, the document opens the door to the dangerous implication that Quebec **socialists** must tailor their struggle to meet the requirements of the English-Canadian — **capitalist** — state.

### **Self-determination for Quebec**

On the contrary, English Canadian socialists must give unconditional support to the right to self-determination of the French Canadian nation, up to and including its right to political separation from Canada. What we need is a united **working class**, not a united Canada; and consistent defense of Quebec's right to self-determination as the necessary basis for such unity. An independent, socialist Quebec (and could an independent Quebec be anything but socialist?), if it came to that, would be a tremendous blow (*i.e., boost – Ed.*) for socialism in English Canada . . . and the United States.

### **Program for labor**

The (*Waffle*) document recognizes as "central" the importance of the working class and labor movement in the struggle for socialism. But in defining the NDP merely as "the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change" or the "common focus," the "core around which should be mobilized the social and political movement necessary for building an independent socialist Canada," it plays down the great significance of the party as the Canadian labor party, the political — and not just parliamentary — expression of labor's class interests and organizational independence of the capitalist parties.

Similarly, instead of advancing the concept of concrete transitional demands which can project the workers into anti-capitalist struggle — such as the shorter work week at the same take-home pay; or sliding scale of wages, etc. — it wavers back and forth between rhetoric about "effective control" and "substantial power" for the workers in the plants, and the more common concept of "participation" . . . presumably with the capitalist owners of industry. But any concept of "participation" short of workers' **control** of industry, so long as industry remains in private hands, can tend to divert the unions from the socialist direction into shouldering and apologizing for the burden imposed on them by the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system.

Socialists must oppose any and all restrictions upon the independence of the unions with respect to both management and the state. Yet the document advances no program to defend the trade unions against the growing number of anti-labor laws which hamstring the trade unions' ability to implement the will of their memberships.

"For an Independent Socialist Canada" calls for an end to Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war and withdrawal from "the American alliance system." However, it generally omits any discussion of the overall international context. It does speak of the "American empire" as "the central reality" for Canadians. But another aspect of the world reality is the workers states and the nations struggling to escape from the orbit of the capitalist market.

Insofar as these forces weaken U.S. imperialism (Vietnam) they constitute powerful allies for the anti-imperialist struggle here. To the extent that the growing forces of world revolution provoke and deepen the contradictions within American society (the anti-war movement, the Black liberation struggle), they provide us with valuable allies in the heartland of imperialism. We must project a socialist foreign policy which aligns Canadian workers with these tremendous forces. We must dissociate ourselves from the cold war military alliances like NATO and NORAD which have as their sole aim to make the world safe from socialism. And we have to project meaningful aid and trade with the real "developing countries," the countries like Cuba and Vietnam, etc., which are building a socialist system.

### **Role of leadership**

Finally, the lessons that can be learned from Britain should not be ignored. The left in the Labor party succeeded in winning a majority in conference — only to see conference decisions ignored or violated under leaders like Hugh Gaitskell and Harold Wilson. Similarly, the right wing leaders of the NDP have all too often ignored and violated convention decisions where they wished. Their liberal-reformist concepts, which in the last analysis treat capitalism as the best of all possible worlds, are in irreconcilable contradiction with the socialist program.

Thus supporters of this document must come to grips with the necessity to build an alternative leadership in the party. As a first step, they should be prepared to campaign as candidates for leadership positions on the basis of their ideas.

"For an Independent, Socialist Canada" appears at an excellent juncture in the NDP's development. The victory in Manitoba and the expected gains in B.C. show the potential that exists right across the country for NDP governments. We are now being presented with an opportunity to test the party's program and leadership in action.

This document is a major step toward going beyond the "band-aids" which the reformist right wing leadership has presented up to now. Its growing list of supporters, to be announced shortly, indicates the possibility for the first time of a mass left wing forming in the NDP. This left wing will take up the struggle which has been carried by the relatively small forces around the Socialist Caucus in B.C., Ontario and for a while in Alberta.

The appearance of this and related documents at the coming Winnipeg convention makes it likely that this assembly will be the most significant yet in the party's history.

===box===Photo caption===

Anti-war demonstrations have played major role in educating Canadians as to nature of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices in Canadian government and business.

===end box===



# U.S. profs control campus studies

"A U.S. dean of arts who would permit his three closest associates to be U.S. citizens in a Canadian university is either indifferent or unsympathetic to the development of the university as a Canadian institution," Mathews said.

The subcommittee found that the fine arts department lists no history or appreciation of Canadian art, no study of Canadian music; that the sociology-anthropology department lists 62 courses, not one of which mentions Canada or its sociology, that the English department lists two courses in Canadian literature compared with nine in U.S. literature and several more with U.S. literature content.

The university's director of information labelled the report "a witch hunt in the worst McCarthy tradition," and attempted to counteract it with the claim that the eight U.S. chairmen were just new appointments and after all heading departments that had been developed by Canadians. He later admitted that 57.5 percent of the present faculty were Canadian citizens as compared with 68.4 percent five years ago.

The Mathews report urged that graduate fellowship grants be limited to Canadians and a "specified percentage" of landed immigrants, that the number of foreign graduate students be limited, that courses with Canadian content in Ontario universities be listed, and that all major university posts be reserved

for Canadians.

A survey of the 400 member faculty of Arts and Science of York University (Toronto) undertaken by faculty dean John Saywell and released to the press earlier this month confirmed the Waterloo report. The survey revealed that there are more U.S. born full time arts teachers than Canadian born, 35.3 percent to 34.4 percent, and that U.S. born professors make up at least 40 percent of the departments of political science, humanities, sociology, social science, philosophy, mathematics and psychology.

The situation at the University of Waterloo "is nothing less than a blueprint for cultural genocide," according to Robin Mathews, professor of English at Carleton University.

Mathews chaired a subcommittee struck off by the Emergency Symposium on the Americanization of Canadian Universities held in Montreal earlier this year. This subcommittee has just submitted its report on the Kitchener-Waterloo university to the Ontario minister of education.

The committee notes that eight departments in the university have U.S. chairmen: English, fine arts, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, sociology and economics. More than half the full professors in these departments are U.S. citizens as are the dean of arts, his two associate deans, and the deputy dean.

say that other issues should be removed from the stage).

That I suggest is what Hugh MacLennan meant in his Montreal speech. Not that Vietnam is a U.S. problem or not a Canadian problem. But that Canadian "activists" had accepted U.S. terms of activism, and when there was a desperate need for signs of "rapprochement" at McGill, students were marching about Vietnam.

That opens a large question that I seriously would like to hear more about. How much is Canadian activism dictated by U.S. activism? How often do U.S. citizens (as they did at the Conference on Socialist Studies) try to prevent Canadians from taking Canadian problems seriously if they seem to conflict with the interests of U.S. citizens in Canada?

I believe there is a kind of sentimental, continentalist socialism at work in much of the Canadian Left. Am I right? I really don't know about these things. But I will leave you with two sayings. "There is but one real truth to grasp about the U.S. Left — the real U.S. Left — and that is that it doesn't exist." "Canada-U.S. relations are defined by the good old fashioned principle of give and take. Canada gives. The U.S. takes."

Robin Mathews

## 'Put Canadian Sovereignty in center stage'-Mathews

Ottawa, Ont.

Editor,

My last letter, you say, poses some important questions. I agree with you profoundly. Do I feel, you ask, that Vietnam is chiefly a U.S. problem? Not at all. I have met, marched, and written about Vietnam. My writing has had particular reference to Canadian involvement.

But I have come to certain conclusions about Canada-U.S. relations. However grave particular problems like the Vietnam war are, they are, I suggest,

symptomatic of a single problem for Canadians: the problem of Canadian sovereignty.

If the Vietnam war is ended, Canadian complicity in the undesirable foreign policies of the U.S.A. will not be ended until Canadians assert sovereignty over foreign affairs. And of course Canadians won't do that until they assert sovereignty over internal affairs.

One of the ways to move towards those goals is to place Canadian issues and Canadian sovereignty in the center of the Canadian stage (which is not to

# B.C. NDP out to topple Socreds

VANCOUVER, August 16 — The high spirits of New Democrats, their growing confidence that August 27 will see the election of British Columbia's first NDP government, is shown in many things: the urban forests of NDP lawn signs, the all-time record turnouts at NDP meetings and mobilizations, and now, less than two weeks before the election, the confident predictions by party leaders that the voters will elect a majority NDP government.

The worry of the ruling Social Credit party, itself a major factor in the New Democrats' enthusiasm, has further bared the character of monopoly rule in B.C. Premier Bennett is reported to have staged a secret dinner for 56 top businessmen on Aug. 12 and told them Social Credit and "free enterprise" were losing, unless the

wealthy ridings of Point Grey and Vancouver's north shore stopped voting Liberal and lined up with Social Credit.

A mysterious "British Columbians for Bennett Committee" has appeared on the scene with a big advertising campaign. Supporters are urged to send donations to "Canada Trust-Huron and Erie" — no other details.

And Bennett has pushed the panic button with a spate of personal attacks on NDP leader Tom Berger; he's even accused him of arranging the Trudeau baiting at the Seaforth Armory affair during the prime minister's recent visit here. Such attacks serve only to further undermine Bennett's own credibility.

The Bennett and Big Business attack on the NDP centers on two themes: that the NDP is a prisoner of the labor movement, and that it is a "socialist menace" to democracy and free enterprise.

Berger and the NDP have responded to this latter charge by solidarizing with all the victims of the monopolies and their government at Victoria. The list is long — teachers, professionals, farmers, the native population, small businessmen, students, hospital and school administrators, the municipalities, etc. NDP spokesman Dave Barrett puts it even more directly: "MacMillan Bloedel, Crown Zellerbach and B.C. Telephones own the Social Credit party. There is no doubt about it. And the Liberal party is competing for that ownership."

As for the Socred attack on the NDP's labor ties, the NDP's response leaves something to be desired. Premier Bennett accused Berger personally of organizing an oilworkers picket line at the B.C. Hydro bus barn which stopped all busses in Vancouver and Victoria on August 12 morning, stranding hundreds of thousands of workers. Berger correctly turned responsibility for the strike back on Bennett and the oil cartels which, he said, had refused to negotiate in good faith. He said he would have appointed a mediator. Two days later, however, Bennett responded. Labor Minister



**Tom Berger**  
B.C. NDP leader

Peterson ordered the Mediation Commission, armed with the hated union-busting provisions of Bill 33, to enter the strike, and warned that while he was not yet invoking compulsory arbitration he "might take a different view of the matter."

The NDP campaign literature doesn't even mention labor, let alone Bill 33.

Berger, by his definition, speaks for the liberal-reformist wing of the NDP and has set a goal for the NDP of bringing a "reconciliation" of the divisions between "city and country and labor and management."

But the momentum from the summer strike wave, the education and hospital crisis, and now the impasse in the oil workers strike, have stamped a much different impression on the campaign: the real issue is labor to power.

More trade unions than ever are actively involved in the campaign. *The Barker*, voice of the largest union local (Vancouver IWA) in B.C., blazens the urgency of putting the NDP in power across several pages of its latest issue.

It contrasts vividly with the Communist party paper *Pacific Tribune* which says "Bennett Must Go" but leaves the reader in doubt about who to vote for unless he lives in one of the three Vancouver area ridings where CP candidates are running against the NDP.

A featured speaker at the mass campaign rally in New Westminster next week will be NDP Premier Ed Schreyer of Manitoba. Schreyer's message will be clear — if Manitoba can do it, so can British Columbia. And that is the thrust of the whole campaign here.

## NDP worker gives Berger a lesson in dealing with the corporations

Pollution is a major issue in the B.C. election campaign. The following story, quoted from the Vancouver *Sun* of August 14, suggests that at least one rank and file NDP supporter is a little more sceptical of MacMillan Bloedel's claim of "good corporate citizenship" than is NDP leader Tom Berger — and with good reason!

\* \* \* \*

**POWELL RIVER** — The MacMillan Bloedel Company is using the best methods available to keep down the pollution nuisance from its mill here, NDP leader Tom Berger said Wednesday.

He said he wished all other mills would do the same.

Berger toured the company's kraft pulp mill here and gave it full marks for effort in its program to combat the fly-ash and smoke nuisance problem.

But an NDP supporter who works at the mill charged later that Berger had been given "a snow job" by the company.

The worker, who declined to give his name because he feared repercussions from his employer, said workers had

been warned of Berger's impending visit and were told to "watch the smoke."

"This morning at 8 a.m. all steam plant personnel were told to 'Watch your fires, Berger's in town today and we don't want too much smoke,'" the worker said.

He said the precipitators in the mill which remove impurities from gases escaping from the process are designed to handle 230 gallons per minute.

"But every night they boost the capacity to 250 gallons per minute so the precipitators can't hold it all and all that crap goes out into the air," he said.

He also said, "Thousands and thousands of gallons of acid" are being dumped into the saltchuck every day from the mill through a six-foot diameter culvert which Berger did not see on his tour.

He said all the NDP leader saw on his tour was the water used to turn turbines in the plant.

Berger's tour in the afternoon was conducted by MacMillan Bloedel's technical director at Powell River, Roger Killin, who, Berger said, was very helpful. . .



# Trotskyists given harsh sentences by Greek junta

ATHENS (IP)—A group of Trotskyist militants were condemned to long prison terms by a military tribunal here following their "trial" May 19-20. The defendants, arrested in September 1968, were members of the Internationalist Communist Organization of Greece, which supports the Fourth International. The ICO publishes the monthly journal **Spartacus** and distributes leaflets opposing the dictatorship.

During the trial the defendants declared their opposition to the military regime, denounced the tortures they had been subjected to, and courageously upheld their political convictions against the dictatorship and the capitalist state. They called for a socialist revolution, as partisans of Trotsky and the Fourth International.

The tribunal handed down the following savage sentences against the accused:

Theodossis Thomadaxis, machinist, prison for life; Panayotis Doumas, waterworks employee, prison for life; Sofronis Papadopoulos, building worker, prison for life; and Helene Doumas, printer, eighteen years in prison.

Three other defendants were also sentenced: Elie Corovessis, student, eight years in prison; Dimitri Frangoulanis, house painter, eight years; and Anna Karouta, printer, two years.

The prosecutor in his indictment during the trial described the defendants as "stateless persons" and "traitors to their country" in the service of . . . Moscow!

During the same week: Thirty-nine members of the Patriotic Front were put on trial in Salonika. In Athens, six intellectuals were tried for having set up a network for the centrist organization Democratic Defense (Papandreou's group).

Also in Athens, an independent left-wing group was tried for having set up a resistance network. The principal defendants were Theodore Nicas, sentenced to life in prison; Georges Tzorzorian, and Lambrini Iconomidou, who each received twenty years; and Dimitri Livieratos.

# Where does Trudeau stand now on ABM ?

by Dick Fidler

On August 6 — 24 years to the day after the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — the U.S. Senate voted 51 to 49 to approve a start on the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system. The scheme, which involves construction of a new network of nuclear missiles around the existing intercontinental ballistic missile bases, has been widely condemned in the United States, even by prominent ruling class spokesmen, as militarily unjustified, morally indefensible and politically suicidal. But the Senate vote authorized the Nixon administration to begin construction of ABM bases in North Dakota and Montana, close to the Canadian border.

Canada is directly involved in this fateful decision. Not only are these Spartan and Sprint missiles designed to explode over Canadian territory, but Prime Minister Trudeau has hinted that the ABM scheme may be integrated with NORAD, the military alliance which directly links the Canadian and U.S. military establishment in North America.

Last spring, when Nixon proposed the "Safeguard" ABM project, Trudeau refused to dissociate Canada from possible partici-

pation in it. Repeated opposition demands that he condemn the scheme were met with the prime minister's offhanded suggestion that ABM might after all never become operational. The Senate go-ahead to the Safeguard scheme, backed by an 89-11 vote in principle for the ABM network, exposes the falsity of Trudeau's pretended diffidence.

Trudeau also expressed some doubt as to whether the ABM represented a step-up in the arms race.

But the ABM missiles are a clear provocation to the Soviet Union, since their primary objective is to protect and extend the first strike capacity of the multi-megaton Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. Nor is ABM necessarily the last stage in this deadly game of nuclear oneupmanship. The United States already has in operation the MRV — Multiple Re-entry Vehicle — which sprays warheads shotgun-like around a single target, and is testing the MIRV, a multiple-warhead missile which can hit several targets. Where will it all end?

The Senate endorsement of ABM — itself aided by Canada's failure to condemn the

project — has spurred on the Strangeloves fashioning still more multiple megadeath devices.

Any lingering doubts about the provocative nature of the ABM move were recently dispelled by a most unlikely source. The Central Intelligence Agency, in a report "leaked" to the *New York Times*, concludes that the Soviet Union neither has the capacity to strike first at the U.S. missile installations the ABM is supposed to protect, nor is it seeking that capacity.

Where does Trudeau stand now? Will he join even other allies of the U.S. in condemning this dangerous new step toward nuclear armageddon? Or will he go ahead with plans to involve Canadian business and the military in contracts and the radar networks across the Canadian north which will inevitably come in its wake?

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#180 Aug. 1969



**TRUDEAU COPS OUT.** Hilda Thomas (foreground) lashes Canada's complicity in Vietnam while Trudeau stands by. Moments later, without replying to charges, he dashed from platform, striking youth in face and tearing placard from a young woman.

## Hilda Thomas challenges PM: When will Canada cease Vietnam complicity?

# 5,000 in Toronto hear GI denounce the war

by Jim Whittom

TORONTO — "There are now 4,500 more American troops in Vietnam than when Richard Nixon was elected president," former Private Joe Cole of the U.S. Army told a crowd of 5,000 here on August 9. The occasion was the Vietnam Peace Festival held in city hall square by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee as part of the activities occurring across the continent on Nagasaki Day.

Cole was one of the famous Ft. Jackson Eight who fought and defeated attempts by the army brass to suppress their right to oppose the Vietnam war.

"The GIs," he said, "especially black GIs, know the war is not in their interest. The generals want to see the war go on because they get promotions out of it. The people who run my country, that is, the big businessmen, want to see it go on because they're making money out of it. . . But not the GIs. I never heard a GI saying he was going to Vietnam to defend freedom. . . He's going because he was sent."

The Vietnam Peace Festival featured six

rock groups and was mc'd by several leading Toronto DJs and Joe Young, executive secretary of the VMC. The festival received fairly extensive coverage in the news media — the first big publicity which the GI anti-war movement has received in this country.

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SOCIALIST CAUCUS  
Box 872, st'n F,  
Toronto, Ontario.

21-9-69

Dear Socialist Caucus Supporter,

An important political event for Socialists in the NDP has been the recent publication of the document "For An Independent Socialist Canada". Endorsed by a group of well-known leaders in the NDP such as Laurier Lapierre, Charles Taylor, five B.C. MLA's etc., this document challenges many of the key concepts embodied in the Party's traditional program which are upheld by the present leadership. It reads for example: "Our aim as supporters of the New Democratic Party is to make it a truly socialist party"; it calls for a "mass base of socialists in factories and offices, on farms and campuses"; or "Capitalism must be replaced by socialism, by national planning of investment and by the public ownership of the means of production in the interest of the Canadian people as a whole." These ideas, though not fully worked out yet, coincide basically with the goals of the Socialist Caucus and underline the correctness of our past efforts.

The Steering Committee of the Socialist Caucus in Ontario met on Sept. 3 to decide what stand the Caucus should take towards the "Manifesto". We felt that the work of the Socialist Caucus was in tune with this development and that we could give it full and active support. We are confident that this development indicates a new reality, where the struggle for socialism in the NDP which has been carried and prepared by our relatively small forces is being picked up by broader layers of the Party. Should you not have seen the document yet, it is available from Gwenneth Emby, 108 Cornell Ave, Scarborough, Ont. (It has also been published in the latest issue of Canadian Dimensions, the Sept. 17 issue of Commonwealth and the July 14 issue of the Workers Vanguard)

The "Manifesto" appears at an extremely favourable juncture in the life of the NDP, just a few months prior to the Winnipeg Convention and at a time when the mood of the Party is beginning to express the need for a left alternative. The supporters of the document urge all ridings to have it available for the discussion before the Convention and recommend that resolutions be passed by ridings supporting it. They also urge ridings to request that the Convention have an additional panel on "Party Perspectives" during which a full discussion may be opened up on the future course for the Party. Because of the high interest engendered in the "Manifesto" the ONDY is sponsoring a seminar on the document on Sept. 27-28 in Toronto (see encl. leaflet)

The Socialist Caucus is retaining its address (Box 872, Station F, Toronto 5) should you want to remain in contact with us. By the way, we prepared a "Socialist Municipal Program" for the Toronto NDP Municipal Convention. It was very well received and had considerable effect on the final outcome of the Party's program.

We are looking forward to seeing you either at the seminar or at the Winnipeg Convention, Oct. 28-30.

fraternally yours, *Regula Modell*  
for the Steering Committee

S

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Discussion Groups
- 12.30 LUNCH
- 1.30 REPORT OF DISCUSSION GROUPS
- 2.30 COFFEE
- 2.45 INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY: Dialogue, Giles Endicott, A. Bekerman
- 4.00 ADJOURNMENT

Sunday, September 28 Sidney Smith Hall (note change in location)

- 12.30 BUILDING A MASS BASE: Wilson Head
- 1.00 DISCUSSION GROUPS - Community Control, Tenants' Unions  
- Organizing the Unorganized  
- Student Democracy  
- Women
- 3.00 Parliamentary and extra- Parliamentary Activities
- 3.30 coffee
- 3.45 BUILDING A CONTINUING LEFT: James Laxer, Gord Cleveland, Hans Brown, Regula Modlich, and others
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LABOR DAY PARADE in Sudbury saw Steel and Mine Mill unions march together for the first time. Strikes at International Nickel and Falconbridge have

shut down the whole city, halting production of half the western world's nickel and bringing temporary relief from sulphurous pollution. See report, page 6.

# workers Vanguard

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## B.C. NDP's strategy fails to shake Socreds

by Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER — The August 27 B.C. election returned Premier Bennett's Social Credit, big business government to power with 39 seats and 47 percent of the popular vote. The NDP dropped from 17 to 11 seats.

The new leader of the NDP, Tom Berger, went down to personal defeat in Vancouver Burrard, trailing his nearest rival by 125 votes.

The heavy blow to the NDP also knocked out such NDP luminaries as Leo Nimsick in Cranbrook, Dave Stupich in Nanaimo, Nor-

man Levi in Vancouver South, Ray Parkinson in Burrard and Bill King in Revelstoke-Slocan, a loss of six MLAs in all.

Only a slight shift took place in the popular vote, however. The NDP vote actually rose to 33.8 percent, an increase of 0.16 percent over 1966 and the highest percentage the NDP has ever received.

Social Credit gained a 1.96 percent increase over 1966, taking votes from previous Liberals, Conservatives and Independents. The Liberal vote declined by 1.3 percent to 18.9

actually take seats away

praisal is now beginning. Most expected victory expectations with informed commentators. Censured the disaster that

duced a highly charged between the NDP and before has big business adreds of thousands of ive campaign of adver-

→ p. 2-3

## Labor facing showdown on B.C.'s Bill 33

by Ron Haywood

VANCOUVER, September 1 — Labor's long-awaited showdown with the back-to-work and compulsory arbitration clauses of Bill 33 is now posed in the B.C. oil workers strike.

The day before the August 27 election, oil worker picket James Harvey was killed, run down outside the Shell oil refinery by a supervisor-driven truck (see story below). Very quickly the situation began to hot up with a citizens' picket and a decision by the Teamsters union not to use or handle "hot" oil from behind the picket lines.

The day after the election — and the crushing NDP defeat — the government invoked compulsory mediation under Section 11 of Bill 33 and threatened to escalate their offensive against the oil workers with compulsory arbitration.

Thus the grim summer-long strike, which began in May, now faces defeat through compulsory arbitration at the hands of the Social Credit boss government.

Labor Minister Peterson says that the Teamsters' decision to boycott "hot" oil is "tantamount to a general strike." Ray Haynes, secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor, says that the BCFL is not opposed to Peterson's order for mediation efforts

(See page 7)

## ...Some chickens come home to roost

by The Editors

New Democrats surveying the wreckage in the wake of the British Columbia election disaster might well pose the question, What did we gain in this campaign? The negative results are all too obvious — the loss of seats, the failure to make any substantial increase in the party's share of the popular vote, to break into new sectors of support, among white collar and unorganized low-wage workers.

Worse still is the prospect of further defeats and further demoralization as Social Credit consolidates its victory over the labor movement in the months ahead.

Coming so soon after the NDP's biggest victory, in the Manitoba election June 25, the B.C. defeat — which also qualifies as the party's worst setback since its founding — will inevitably provoke a deep-going debate throughout the ranks, a debate that will bear directly and heavily on the wider discussion in the federal NDP over the socialist road for the Seventies.

(See page 2)



MANITOBA'S ED SCHREYER, B.C.'s TOM BERGER  
Similar tactics, different result

## Socialists start Que. monthly

"A great leap forward for the workers' cause in Quebec." That's how the editors of the revolutionary socialist newspaper, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, describe the appearance this month of the first issue of their new monthly journal.

*La Lutte* began in October 1964 as a more or less bi-monthly mimeographed discussion bulletin in the Quebec left. Since then it has steadily improved its appearance, regularity and circulation. The monthly tabloid is the latest stage in this expansion.

The contents of the September issue indicate its scope and value as a reporter, educator and instrument of the struggle for "a free, socialist Quebec." There are feature articles on the anti-bureaucratic struggle for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, and on the movement for French unilingualism in Quebec and the opposition of René Lévesque and his Parti Québécois to this important demand. An editorial statement (reproduced in this issue of the *Vanguard*) protests the police state measures being introduced by the Quebec government to suppress left-wing dissent. Three articles analyze the issues involved in the negotiations with Quebec's 62,000 teachers and 84,000 hospital workers, and the recent strike by 12,000 construction workers.

(See page 8)



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# ... B.C. election

The traditional right wing leadership will have considerable difficulty in rationalizing this defeat. As they saw it, they had everything going for them: a superb organization, a new attractive leader, an aging opponent with a dismal record on all the major social issues, disarray in the other opposition parties, and the recent inspiring victory in Manitoba. Their campaign was a textbook example of NDP electoral strategy. And what did it all come to? Organization, it seems, is not enough...

(continued from page 1)

Insofar as they have expressed any views on what went wrong, the leadership attributes the defeat to Premier W. A. C. Bennett's "red scare," the "unfavorable image" of the NDP-labor tie, and the ignorance of the voters.

A serious analysis must go much further, however. As Phil Courneyeur notes in the article above, the NDP debacle can only be explained in the light of the general atmosphere of capitulation and backtracking which has characterized the B.C. labor leadership's reaction to the Socred government's anti-labor offensive. In no other province is the labor tie so crucial to the NDP's success, and in no other province has labor so lamentably failed the test of leadership.

When Bill 33 was introduced, the B.C. Federation of Labor leaders loudly denounced it, but did almost nothing to forestall its passage. Since then, one after another, they have left labor's ranks to take jobs on the mediation commission or tribunal established under the bill.

Characteristically, the labor leaders appealed to the government with the argument that Bill 33 wouldn't work. Of course, it did work — infamously. The club of compulsory arbitration poised over virtually any and all labor conflicts has served as a powerful reinforcement to the brass's natural tendency to capitulate before the bosses. The result of "living with Bill 33" has been a deepening atmosphere of defeat and impotence in labor ranks.

Instead of linking the campaign for an NDP government in Victoria with a strategy of on-the-job action and mobilization of the ranks to defeat Bill 33 and roll back the anti-labor drive, the B.C. Fed brass tried to substitute the election of an NDP government as an *alternative* to a militant strategy. But inevitably — for the party leaders share the same political attitudes — the NDP campaign simply reproduced this capitulatory strategy on the political level. As a result the party could not escape the deadening identification with a sell-out leadership in the unions. Its slogan Ready to Govern was unconvincing to many potential supporters who had already lost confidence in the labor leadership's readiness to lead.

In this sense, the election demonstrates the fallacy of treating electoral action purely as an alternative for defeats at the negotiating table and on the picket line.

But there is a more general lesson to be learned from the B.C. experience. The election results are a defeat not so much because the NDP failed to win the election, but because it comes out of this experience with nothing new to build on. It cannot be said that as a result of this election experience — which presented such a powerful opportunity to present the socialist alternative to the broad masses of the province's working people — the electorate is left with any greater understanding of the case for socialism. Instead, everything was done by the NDP leadership to make it appear that the differences between the big business government and the NDP were in fact minimal — that the New Democrats would simply administer things more efficiently, and perhaps a little more humanely. The system itself would remain intact.

It is not that a radical or revolutionary program would necessarily have brought victory where reformism failed. But a socialist program, based on demands linked to the actual struggles of the workers would mean that win, lose or draw in the balloting the party would in all likelihood have come out of the campaign with renewed cadres, a new appreciation of its tasks, and a vigorous determination to continue the struggle. Instead, it can truthfully be said that not only has reformism failed to point the way to electoral victory; in defeat, it has left a legacy of demoralization throughout the ranks.

The only way to overcome this atmosphere and set the NDP back on the road to power is to reorient the party and the entire labor movement toward a strategy of class struggle socialism.

workers  
**Vanguard**

Editor: ROSS DOWSON  
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

## B.C. NDP's strategy fails to shake Socreds

p-2

percent and the Liberal Party lost the wealthy Oak Bay seat to Social Credit.

The popular vote, then, shows no significant changes in voter behavior, except a shift of middle-class Liberal votes to Social Credit. The almost two percent swing gave the Bennett government the victories it needed in marginal seats to flatten the NDP

thrust to power and actually take seats away from labor.

An agonizing reappraisal is now beginning within NDP ranks. Most expected victory and shared their expectations with informed columnists and radio commentators. Certainly, no one expected the disaster that ensued.

The campaign produced a highly charged polarization of forces between the NDP and Social Credit. Never before has big business thrown so many hundreds of thousands of dollars behind a massive campaign of advertising. The Social Credit campaign aimed its fire at the so-called socialist menace and

(See page 3)

### Contact us

to know what socialists  
are doing in your area

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 225 est. rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, Québec. 861-3018.

OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, 365½ Bank St., Room 7, Ottawa 4, Ont. 234-2179 or 235-2141.

TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 189, Ont. 922-6665.

RICHMOND HILL. League for Socialist Action, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont. HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Box 4324, Station D, Hamilton, Ont. 529-9302.

KITCHENER. Workers Vanguard, Box 921, Kitchener, Ont. EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, 10402-97 St., Edmonton, Alta. 424-7644.

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Vanguard/September 8, 1969/7

# What went wrong in B.C. election?

(continued from page 2)

played on the fears of many with the comfortable slogan Be Sure: Vote for the Government!

Bennett seemed to have good reason to fear a possible NDP victory.

The NDP had just won power in Manitoba. It had won two key by-elections, increasing the party's legislative strength to 17 members. Widespread discontent with the Social Credit government was evident among teachers, the medical services, students, Native Canadians, to name only a few sectors. The B.C. Teachers' Federation poured \$50,000 into an anti-government campaign for better education.

The NDP was poised for victory when the election was called. As the campaign got off the ground, the NDP involved bigger support than ever before — in the neighborhoods, from labor, and even got a relatively fair hearing in the press.

## Held its own

But something went wrong. The high gear campaign of NDP leader Berger wasn't enough. The liberal-reformist program of modest changes and good government did not inspire any new support. The NDP held its own, but did not go forward.

B.C. is a very gerrymandered province. The rural seats are weighted. Social Credit, by its popular vote, should only get 26 seats, not 39.

Nevertheless, Bennett outdistanced the NDP by 14 percent of the vote. The working class numbers about 800,000 people in B.C., but only 44 percent or 352,000 are organized. The NDP polled some 312,000 votes. It is obvious, as Vancouver Labor Council secretary Paddy Neale sadly observed, that thousands of workers, and in fact working class areas such as Nanaimo, Revelstoke-Slocan, and Vancouver Center voted Social Credit.

The working class vote in 1969 behaved much the same as in 1966; the organized sectors of the work force and the traditional working class areas (Vancouver East, Burnaby, Westminster, Coquitlam) went NDP. But the NDP failed to win over wide layers of the unorganized workers, service workers, and office workers.

## Leadership's reaction

The bitter post-mortems undertaken by various NDP leaders all point in one direction — blame the voters. NDP president John Laxton expressed this view most crassly. He said that the public are like Eskimos who had been sold refrigerators (a racist remark, brother Laxton?). He compared the public's buying of Bennett's bag of goods to buying habits for soap brands. "And how can we hope to fight against hundreds of thousands of dollars? We're like troops using bows and arrows against nuclear bombs." Laxton went on to propose that the NDP invest in a big-ger (\$500,000) advertising binge next time!

Berger, understandably, was most stunned by the defeat. "Bennett told the people to watch out for the socialists and I guess you can say they watched out for us," he said. "We didn't make any mistakes. We had a good program . . . the people didn't want it.

That's up to them if they want another four years of the Bennett government."

Former NDP leader Robert Strachan, Berger, and Ray Haynes, secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor, claim they were defeated by the socialist scare. But this only begs the question. Why was Bennett able to get away with this scare campaign? And why wasn't the NDP able to turn it to its advantage?

## Polarization

The polarization which occurred in the election campaign did not come out of Bennett's hat, but out of past and ongoing popular struggles against big business and labor struggles against deteriorating wage and job conditions.

The passing of Bill 33 in 1968 launched a new scale anti-labor drive by the Social Credit government. Since that time labor has been in full retreat under the threat of compulsory arbitration.

For some three months this summer, B.C. has passed through the crest of a major strike wave. Greater Vancouver and Victoria were deprived of supermarket distribution services by the lockout imposed by the Weston monopoly food chains. The retail clerks, the telephone workers, and other unions have been forced to settle for meager raises. The IWA lost its fight to re-open the contract to stave off the erosion of wages by inflation. And now, the three-month oil workers strike is threatened with compulsory arbitration and defeat.

The leadership of B.C. labor, paralyzed by the threat of compulsory arbitration under Bill 33, capitulated. No defense of the striking unions was mounted. No reply was made to the massive anti-union publicity campaign. The NDP under Berger failed to solidarize with labor. The unorganized sectors of labor and the middle class were left wide open to the vitriolic anti-labor propaganda.

The protracted strikes and demoralizing defeats sapped the morale and fighting spirit in the ranks. The leaderless malaise confused and atomized many potential labor supporters. The present labor leadership revealed its utter incapacity to win, to offer a viable and positive alternative to big business and boss control, and to inspire mass support for labor's cause.

## Avoided labor issues

The retreat of labor set in much ahead of the NDP campaign but stamped it with a line of playing down labor and playing up "broader" (non-class) issues like permanent voters' lists, pollution, and good government. The leading representatives of the NDP steered clear of labor issues and avoided the issue of Bill 33. Berger's initial defense of the oil workers changed into a flagrant attack on their union as being "lawless." The more Bennett attacked Berger as being a socialist, the more Berger defended free enterprise. Towards the end of the campaign the NDP had all but lost sight of its pledge to nationalize B.C. Telephones.

The more Bennett attacked Berger as being a partner of labor, the more Berger called for labor-management co-operation, year round negotiations, and mediation. He

**workers**  
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pledged to become, if elected, the architect of labor-management co-operation.

At no time did Berger attack the food monopolies for their dictatorial closing of the food outlets. But he attacked the oil workers because they picketed the airport!

The B.C. Federation of Labor leadership and the NDP leaders hoped to win over middle class support. But the woeful tale of defeats, labor disunity, inaction and spineless cowering could hardly be expected to inspire confidence in those layers. The way to win middle class support is to build confidence in the power of labor.

A vigorous program of transitional demands designed to link and relate the staggering and chronic problems of pollution, education, price inflation, etc., to the necessity of labor to power could have shown that only the vital strength of the labor movement can defeat the monopolies and defend the working people. It is the labor movement which fought for and won what living standards we now enjoy, and many of our basic civil rights, including the right to organize. And it is only the labor movement which can now defend and extend these conquests.

## End parliamentary dogmatism

The Vancouver Province pointed to the relationship between labor and the NDP as "the fulcrum on which Mr. Bennett applied his election lever." Bennett took advantage of the disarray and waffling leadership in the labor movement to strike his blow at the NDP. He succeeded in making the NDP leadership play his game.

The NDP campaign continued to remain aloof from the important confrontations that have isolated the government from such elements as teachers, students, tenants organizations. Berger did not root his strategy firmly in solidarity with such popular struggles, but took the middle of the road.

A day after the election, the arena of struggle shifted dramatically from the ballot box to the oil workers strike.

The Vancouver Province, bloated with victory, called the shots on the strike situation. "Compulsory arbitration is poised above the dispute and there are no longer any political misgivings on the government's side. The situation recalls the old Roman dictum — 'Woe to the vanquished!'"

The defeat of the NDP has precisely that meaning. It is not the loss of six seats, but a punishing blow to the whole labor movement and the vast majority of the people in B.C. It is a major setback for the NDP, both provincially and nationally.

The way ahead for the NDP is an about face: to get off the middle of the road and join the growing ranks of mass protest against war, price inflation, the growing crisis in housing, education and social services; and most importantly against the mounting government attacks on the basic rights of labor, including the right to strike.



# Pamphlet rehashes

**SOCIALISM CANADA SEVENTIES, A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION**, by Desmond Morton. Pamphlet, 32 pages. Published by The New Democratic Party of Ontario. 1969. Price one dollar.

by John Steele

With the federal convention of the New Democratic Party less than two and a half months away, the debate over directions for the NDP is getting hotter. One of the latest contributions is a pamphlet, *Socialism Canada Seventies* by Desmond Morton, former assistant provincial secretary of the Ontario NDP and its representative on the party's federal council. The pamphlet is published by the Ontario NDP and is presented as a "progress report" on at least part of the discussion and a "contribution to public debate."

Essentially a synthesis of concepts outlined in such papers as Charles Taylor's *Socialism in the 1970s*, Ed Broadbent's *Industrial Democracy*, and assorted writings by leading New Democrats on Canadian nationalism, the impact of technology, etc., the pamphlet gets into the radical mood of the debate by stating that "the socialist case against the prevailing economic and social system remains as valid as ever."

The main theme is that the old approach of the NDP in the Sixties has proven inadequate. The NDP must go beyond the goal of the welfare state which the present system can encompass and deal with the question of "socializing" the "enormous, uncontrolled and unresponsive power of the modern corporation" which is the "great contemporary, challenger of the ideal of democratic control."

*Vanguard* readers will recall that this question was also proposed by the document *For an Independent Socialist Canada* printed in our July 14 issue. It is from here that the shape of the debate looming at the federal convention begins to take form and the meaning of the Morton pamphlet as, in fact, a challenge to the Independent Socialist Canada document (which is being presented as a resolution) becomes clear. It is on the question of the meaning of corporate power and what to do about it that the documents collide, with the Morton pamphlet re-hashing in radical verbiage the

reformist views held by the present leadership and the Independent Socialist Canada document decisively opting for fundamental social change.

For all its 30 pages, the Morton contribution never goes beyond rather weak suggestions for various controls on the "enormous" power of the "multinational" corporations. The closest he comes to a concrete position is the overworked idea of a Canadian Development Fund which would mobilize capital to "help finance the rationalization and greater specialization of Canadian industry and make it more competitive abroad," although he admits that this would probably mean nationalizing or in some way controlling much of the insurance and investment industry. "The corporation," Morton says, "would then be an agent for executing the national purpose."

From here the pamphlet deals with many of the questions touched on by the Independent Socialist Canada manifesto. But the reformist line has been established and the thread is consistent. In discussing socialism and democracy Morton repeats Ed Broadbent's emphasis on the necessity of some kind of control by workers in the factories and offices and even takes up the important demand to open the books of the corporations to end business secrecy.

But this challenge to "irresponsible corporate power" turns out to be merely a plea for a "voice" in management decisions and "participation" in corporate management which would presumably make corporate power more responsible. This, together with a more equitable taxation system, more control over the mass media, public ownership of urban land and a "public sector" in housing, is presented as the solution to the power of the corporations.

This reform package is then tied in, rather offhandedly, to larger questions such as Quebec nationalism, international affairs and the stratification of Canadian society. At this point the air of unreality and utopian reformism of the pamphlet reaches its highest point.

Quebec is discussed under chapter headings like "Canadian Federalism" and "The Survival of Our Country." Deploing the "threat" and the "tragic failure which sep-



# reformist views

aration (of Quebec) would represent for the entire Canadian experiment," this discussion never goes beyond mere willingness to concede more "power over economic decisions" to the Quebec government, if that is necessary, to preserve "the Canadian experiment." The concept that the Québécois should have the right to decide for themselves their relationship to English Canada is nowhere mentioned.



**Charles Taylor**

International affairs is squeezed into one paragraph about the insane North American defense system and its corrosive effect on Canadian values.

The question is there a class struggle (between the corporate owners and the mass of Canadians) is posed, unanswered and then submerged in what is viewed as a rather fundamental conflict between the 25 percent of Canadians who are poor and the rest, especially those who are in organized labor and the professions, who are "affluent."

The pamphlet then ends on this unreal note. Corporate power must be limited but the problem is not the handful of Canadian capitalists who own these corporations in-

terlocked with the U.S. capitalist class. The problem for socialists is to win over the affluent members of the labor force along with the 25 percent of poor Canadians — neutralize their conflict so they can participate in the co-management of Canadian capitalism.

To be sure some radical extra-parliamentary or community activity may have to be engaged in by New Democrats to win over the poor, who tend to reject parliament, but in the final analysis the reform or "restructuring" of Canadian politics and society through this coming together of the poor and the affluent in a "revolution of consent" (Laurier LaPierre) will have Canadians on their way to a socialist society by the end of the Seventies.

Seen against the background of the attempts of those who own the great multinational corporations, the U.S. and Canadian capitalist classes, to crush the struggle for Vietnamese socialism; the intensive drives by the Big Business government of B.C. and the other provinces to render the labor movement ineffective through anti-labor legislation; the frank admission by Prime Minister Trudeau of the meaninglessness of parliament within Canadian capitalism, along with such things as the recent revelation that the Canadian armed forces are being trained to combat the labor movement, the vast gulf between the positions outlined in Desmond Morton's *Socialism Canada Seventies* and those of the New Democrats who support the *For an Independent Socialist Canada* resolution is obvious.

Despite the weaknesses of the latter document, discussed in the August 11 *Vanguard*, its call for the building of a mass activist socialist movement around the basic concept that the fundamental solution to the problems of the "American empire" and Canadian corporate power is the elimination of that power through the "nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy" and the "revitalization and extension of the labor movement," represents a clear break from the reformist framework of the Morton pamphlet with its roots in the 1956 Winnipeg declaration which dumped the anti-capitalist Regina Manifesto.

## Sold socialist papers; jailed, fined in Quebec

MONTREAL — Two supporters of the newspaper *La Lutte Ouvrière*, including its editor, have been found guilty of "illegal distribution" of the publication during the demonstration against the Union Nationale government at Quebec City on June 21. They were fined a total of \$111.

In finding them guilty under a municipal law which forbids distribution of printed material without the authorization of the chief of police, the judge remarked that this newspaper had a clearly socialist and revolutionary character. The police had seized and still hold a considerable number of copies of the paper.

Two other people were found not guilty on the same charge.

The newspaper of the Front de Libération Populaire, *La Masse*, had been seized on the pretext that it didn't carry the names of its editor and printer. About 15 persons spent some time in prison for possessing the paper. The police also seized leaflets distributed by a Maoist group.

The Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, a main organizer of the Quebec demonstration, expressed its solidarity with the two *La Lutte* supporters by paying their fines.

— *La Lutte Ouvrière*



## Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 17 ouest, rue Ontario, Montréal 129, Qué. 849-1727.

OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, 238 Arlington, Ottawa 4, Ont. 234-3130.

TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont. 922-6665.

HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Box 4324, Station D, Hamilton, Ont.

EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, 10402-97 St., Edmonton, Alta. 424-7644.

VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St., Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924.



**POLICE STATE ON THE WAY?** When 20,000 Quebec teachers marched on national assembly last May to protest government stalling on contract negotiations, a reception committee waited inside, armed with three-foot clubs — the standard Quebec government response to all protest movements.

Quebec's 'anti-terrorist' campaign:

## Civil rights in danger

by The Editors of La Lutte Ouvrière

The "anti-terrorist" measures announced by Quebec Justice Minister Rémi Paul, August 22, constitute a serious threat to the democratic rights of Quebec citizens.

At the same time as he announced his 10-point program, Paul "revealed" that "Cuban-trained agitators are at work in Quebec," thus making an amalgam between terrorists and people sympathetic to the Cuban revolution or who have visited Cuba. The government is asking the media to suppress news or downplay terrorist bombings; it will have the cooperation of the federal government in "a more extended study of immigrants' dossiers." More than 60 police corps, including the RCMP, are creating special units empowered to shadow and search people "suspected of terrorist acts" and to survey and search "places habitually frequented by this type of person." Finally, the government is preparing a general law which would permit municipalities to limit the right to demonstrate.

The government is thereby giving the police carte blanche to search and shadow people whom it "suspects" of something. The police may carry out a raid where they wish, if they think they might find something interesting. And to indicate to us just how extensively they are going to use these

new powers, Rémi Paul didn't hesitate to apologize in advance to the "honest citizens" who could find themselves harassed under the new regulations.

In the past, the police have used every "terrorist hunt" in order to raid the headquarters of socialists and independentists. In 1966, they came to our newspaper's office "to look for dynamite"; they didn't find any, but they seized and kept our subscription list for several weeks. However, in order to discover our opposition to terrorism as a means of changing society, they had only to procure a copy of the paper on sale in several downtown newstands!

The same night this new "anti-terrorist" program was announced, four plainclothesmen again visited our offices where they discovered . . . people discussing Czechoslovakia. Once again, this "hunt" is being used to try to wipe out radical opposition to the government by intimidation and repression.

This is confirmed by the draft law limiting the right to demonstrate. Any demonstration which does not conform to the norms fixed by the authorities will be declared illegal. Armed with such a law, would the authorities have allowed demonstrations like McGill Français or "Opération anti-Congrès" (the demonstration at the Union Nationale con-

vention)? It may well be doubted, when Rémi Paul announces in the same declaration that the terrorists have served to some extent as "promoters" of some public demonstrations like "Opération Alarme" (an unemployment protest), the St. Jean Baptiste parade, student protests, etc.

The government's campaign comes in the wake of the federal government's Royal Commission on Security, which declared "Trotskyists, communists and separatists" to be enemies of the state. The report recommended that people sympathetic to these movements be eliminated from the federal civil service and the armed forces. Naturally, Ottawa quickly promised its cooperation with the repressive measures of the Quebec government.

*La Presse* commented on August 23 that "according to most political observers (this program) marks the beginnings of a police state . . ." Mr. Paul has not denied the possibilities of preventative detentions.

This program is a blow against the most elementary rights of citizens. Aiming its first blows against militants in the nationalist and socialist movements, it will strike next at the workers movement and the trade unions. Only a massive and energetic reaction can stop it.



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# Lemieux charged with sedition; Quebec unions launch protest

by Dick Fidler

Raymond Lemieux, president of the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire, has been charged with three counts of sedition and faces life imprisonment on another charge, following the September 10 demonstration for a French school system in the Montreal suburb of St-Léonard.

Lemieux was leader of the march, which was dispersed by hundreds of provincial and municipal police using tear gas and clubs after the mayor read the Riot Act. Three times previous to this, the 1,500 demonstrators had regrouped and surged around police lines confronting them as they marched toward Le Royer school, where they had planned to hold a rally. Police had earlier refused to grant a parade permit.

This was the second time police had used tear gas against demonstrators in Quebec. The first occasion was at the labor-nationalist demonstration during the Union Nationale party congress in Quebec City last June.

Laurier Gravel, vice-president of the LIS, has also been charged with failing to disperse, participating in a riot and obstructing police. A warrant is out for the arrest of Reggie Chartrand, head of the Chevaliers de l'Indépendance, who also took part in the march.

A total of 51 demonstrators were arrested and 39 were charged with taking part in a riot. More than 100 demonstrators were injured. Following a court appearance on September 12, Lemieux was released without plea on \$10,000 bail. He and the others charged will appear in court again on September 19.

The severity of the charges, which were accompanied by a vicious personal attack on Lemieux by Quebec's Justice Minister Rémi Paul, shows clearly that the Quebec government is determined to crack down hard on the LIS, the group that has campaigned for a French unilingual school system throughout Quebec.

The judicial frame-up of Lemieux is the latest stage in the St-Léonard schools crisis. It began last year when the LIS (at that time the Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire — Movement for School Integration) elected a majority on the local school board, pledged to phase out English or bilingual schools a year at a time over 15 years, beginning with grade one.

In recent years a big influx of immigrants, mainly Italians, has reduced French-Canadians in St-Léonard to a bare 50-percent of the total population. Because the immigrants naturally feel obliged to learn English — the language of business in Quebec — they demand English schooling. Until last year's election, there was a growing trend toward bilingual schools and the construction of new English school facilities. The MIS was organized by French Canadian parents anxious to reverse this alarming trend.

The LIS's demand for a unilingual French school system is a popular one throughout Quebec, where there is increasing recognition and fear of the threat posed to the linguistic and cultural survival of the French Canadian

(See page 7)



**CHARGED WITH SEDITION.** Raymond Lemieux, leader of movement for French school system in Quebec, faces life imprisonment following police breakup of demonstration in

St-Léonard on September 10. Above, Lemieux was a featured speaker at the Socialist Students Conference in Toronto last December.

photo by A. Mintz

by Dick Fidler

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(See page 7)

## ... St-Leonard

(continued from page 1)

national identity if English is permitted to continue infiltrating the schools as the language of instruction.

St-Léonard has become a symbol of Québécois resistance to anglicization. But, as Raymond Lemieux told the *Montreal Star* recently, "the St-Léonard question is only of value as a precedent."

"If we say that our city is French-only while the rest of Montreal does what it wants, there's no real point to it." This would indeed amount to discrimination against the Italians, he noted, just as many of them are claiming. "If we're honest with ourselves, it is obvious that the question of language must be eventually settled — and very soon — by a province-wide policy from Quebec. This is what the LIS is focussing on now."

The Quebec government, however, has no intention of acceding to demands for a unilingual French school system. Business interests are unalterably opposed to such a policy. Last fall, the Union Nationale government drew up Bill 85, designed to take control over decisions affecting the language of instruction out of the hands of local school boards like that in St-Léonard. Public protests, including a mass demonstration outside the National Assembly in Quebec City, forced it to shelve the motion. However, in July Education Minister Jean-Guy Cardinal announced that similar legislation would be introduced in October to consolidate the 42 school boards on Montreal Island — thus submerging the autonomy of the St-Léonard board.

As pressure from English interests and the St-Léonard English-speaking Parents Association mounted with the approach of the fall school opening and the abolition of English in grade two, Cardinal announced on August 29 that the government would subsidize up to 80 percent of the operating costs of English-language private schools if the anti-unilingualists in St-Léonard wished to bypass the public school system in this way. This offer was rejected by the English Parents Association.

Finally, under tremendous pressure from

the St-Léonard school commission, public opinion and the LIS, which had announced plans for the September 10 mass march and rally to back its unilingual program, Cardinal backed down and virtually accepted the LIS-school board position in a four-point proposal that granted the right to 50 minutes of English instruction each day if the parents ask for it. This was rejected by the English Parents Association, but accepted by Lemieux and the LIS, which suggested that this formula, if applied to a French unilingual school system, could become a permanent solution to be implemented across Quebec. (The LIS has never opposed the teaching of English as a second language.)

Forced into a temporary concession to the unilingualists in St-Léonard, the Quebec government has now moved against Lemieux and the other LIS leaders with very serious criminal charges. Its strategy is clear — to decapitate the movement, and impede its spread to "new St-Léonards."

The federal government is collaborating with enthusiasm. On September 14, the CBC radio network cancelled a talk by Lemieux, depriving him of an opportunity to present his own defense, because, a spokesman claimed, "as soon as charges were laid, we felt we couldn't legitimately let him on."

Support for the indicted LIS leaders has come from the presidents of the unions affiliated to the Central Council in Montreal of the Confederation of National Trade Unions. They passed a joint resolution on September 13 "to protest against the exorbitant and unfounded charges brought against the LIS leaders."

"These charges show clearly that the provincial government . . . has lost control of the situation and is falling into a real hysteria which can only poison an extremely confused situation," they declared, Charging that Justice Minister Rémi Paul "has decided to substitute himself for the courts in pre-judging Lemieux' guilt," Michel Chartrand, president of the CNTU council, has proposed that trade unionists from the CNTU demonstrate at St-Léonard "to assure citizens the right of free speech and demonstration."



Czech youths confront troops on August 21, anniversary of the Soviet invasion.

## Worker-student solidarity action brings an end to strikebreaking

*Hamilton, Ont.*

The control of universities by big business was very well illustrated in Hamilton recently in a construction dispute between Cooper construction which is building McMaster's new Psychology building, and the carpenters Local 18.

The carpenters, who have been on strike for the past four months, discovered that their work was being done on the Psychology building by the members of the Glaziers union from Toronto. They set up picket lines in front of the building, and were promptly removed by the university administration, with threats of being prosecuted for trespassing.

Why was there such prompt action? It happens that Cooper, as well as three other major construction contractors, all holding contracts with McMaster, are members of the board of governors of McMaster.

On September 9, the Hamilton Building Trades Council sanctioned a complete picketing of the entrances to McMaster which effectively shut down all construction on the campus and all deliveries to it — just one week before the opening of the campus. The workers, who promised to remain there until Cooper's strike-breaking attempts ended, were joined by students from the McMaster Young Socialists and the McMaster Student Movement who pointed out the "vested interests" of the supposedly neutral university in the breaking of the strike, namely the presence of these companies on the board of governors.

The result of the one day picket was a statement by Cooper that all construction on the project in question would be halted until the strike was settled. The university seems to have more than a neutral relationship to Cooper.

*Colleen Levis*

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# The debate on

by John Steele

A popular complaint today, expressed in surveys, newspaper articles and TV programs centers on the powerlessness of people. The youth especially demand control over their lives and resist being pushed around and manipulated by bosses, school administrations and the government. A powerful ingredient of Trudeaumania which helped return the Liberals to power in 1968 was the promise of a new era in government based on "participatory democracy" through control and involvement of the people.

This questioning of the present system, which has found expression in the labor movement and the New Democratic Party in the current discussion over whether capitalism should be reformed or abolished, has raised another key and directly related problem — the question of extending political democracy to the industrial or plant level through control of industry by the working people themselves.

## Scope of the question

Prime Minister Trudeau reflected the far-reaching implications of this question at a teach-in with Canadian students last April in Britain when he was asked what he thought of developing industrial democracy in Canadian industry. He said the notion that management should be accountable to the workers rather than the shareholders was "nonsense."

What lies behind Trudeau's reaction — lover of democracy that he claims to be? When the ten million workers participating in the May 1968 French general strike rejected an initial wage offer of 14 percent and occupied their factories for two weeks, were they not expressing a strong sentiment for control over their lives in the factory? Does the French experience have meaning in Canada? The discussion of industrial democracy which is opening up in NDP circles begins to probe some of these questions.

The current discussion has been initiated by, among others, Ed Broadbent, Oshawa NDP MP, Anthony Carew, research director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, and Morden Lazarus of the Ontario Federation of Labor.\*

Carew and Broadbent argue that if socialism is to mean something better than the welfare state, it must involve democracy on

the industrial level so that workers can exercise control over decisions that directly affect them such as hiring and firing, prices, products — all areas now preserved for the boss under the accepted framework of management's rights. Lazarus and Carew survey the history of industrial democracy concepts in the labor and socialist movement. They point out that the CCF's Regina Manifesto in 1933 dealt extensively with industrial democracy, and note that while the current NDP program defends collective bargaining on bread and butter issues of wages and hours, it ignores the concept of industrial democracy.

## Arises in Canada

This discussion is an important one for the NDP. Workers are increasingly challeng-



Ed Broadbent

ing the bosses' right to control their livelihoods, and asserting their right to a job. In May, 500 Vickers shipyard workers in Montreal staged a sit-in to protest closure of the yards. Similar action was taken by workers at Davies Shipbuilding in Quebec City last year, when they and their families pitched tents and camped in them on the company's property to protest an impending shutdown. As a result, the federal govern-

ment was forced to step in and provide for continued operation of the plant well past the original deadline.

Last November, striking workers armed with rifles and shotguns occupied the Domtar paper mill at Windsor, Quebec. They took over the plant and expelled the security guards to protest the company's threats to close down the mills, and threats of vigilante attacks on their picket lines.

But the issue of workers' rights has extended further, to on-the-job conditions. The crisis on Canada's railways over the elimination of thousands of jobs through automation and the shutting down of unprofitable lines has sharply raised the question. The government's Freedman report on railway runthroughs questioned the arbitrary right of management to throw workers out of jobs with little or no notice, and favored giving workers more control over the hiring and firing process.

Twenty-eight hundred steelworkers at the government-operated Sysco plant in Sydney, Nova Scotia, walked off the job in March this year over a series of grievances which involved workers' intervention in the traditional prerogatives of management. For example, the workers opposed outside contractors being brought into the plant, the shipping of work to other foundries, and the demolition of a shipping pier which meant the loss of several hundred jobs until its replacement.

And Quebec teachers have demanded control over what they call "the tools of our profession." After accepting in May the wage scale offered by the government, they launched a fight on what they considered to be equally important issues. They called it "co-management" and demanded equal authority with the school boards on deciding such matters as the work load (number of students per teacher) and the choice of textbooks and other equipment.

In Britain and Europe the struggle for workers control of the job has taken on wide scope. It is a key question today in France and Italy.

## New conditions

Workers control has been an integral part of the revolutionary socialist program for many years. Writing in the May-June 1969 *International Socialist Review*, the noted Marxist economist Ernest Mandel notes that "it arose in the course of the Russian revolution. The Communist International adopted it at its Third Congress. It played an important role in the revolutionary struggles in Germany in 1920-23. The Belgian unions

\*See *Industrial Democracy: a proposal presented to the NDP federal council*, by Ed Broadbent, MP, *Canadian Forum*, August '69 (similar article in *Canadian Dimension*, July '69); *Industrial Democracy — European Developments and their Relevance for Can-*

*ada*, by Anthony Carew, *Confrontations Publications*, Box 1044, Edmonton; and *Issues of Industrial Democracy: Old and New*, by Morden Lazarus, OFL Political Education Committee memo, July 15, 1969.



# 'industrial democracy'

raised this demand during the twenties. Trotsky incorporated it into the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. André Renard (Belgian left-wing trade union leader) took it up again towards the fifties."

Today it arises with considerably greater force. Workers more than ever before face a "managed" capitalist economy. The big corporations are interlocked with the state. Wage increases are wiped out by price increases and tax hikes and other more indirect fiscal manipulations. There is a concerted effort on the part of government

## Mandel on Workers' Control

*"The demand for workers' control, by involving the immediate right of inspection and veto for workers in a whole series of aspects of the life of the enterprise — while declining all responsibility for its management, as long as private property and the capitalist state are still in existence — thus answers a need born out of social and economic life itself. The structure of the enterprise no longer corresponds to the needs of the economy nor to the aspirations of the workers."*

*"In this sense, this demand is eminently anti-capitalist, because capitalism is not definitively characterized by low salaries nor even by a large number of unemployed workers (although periodic recessions remain inevitable and important). It is characterized by the fact that capital, that capitalists, rule men and machines. Challenging this right to rule, and counterposing another kind of power to it, means taking concrete actions to overthrow the capitalist system."*

— Ernest Mandel, in  
The Debate on Workers' Control

and the bosses to tie wages to productivity with the imposition of an "incomes policy."

In other words, since the workers have no means of determining or controlling production, the traditional struggle for pay increases becomes increasingly futile unless workers go beyond these demands to "challenge the relationship between prices and wages, wages and money, wage increases and increases in

productivity which the employers and the governments in their pay seek to impose on them as 'inevitable.'" Another aspect of the "managed" economy is the rapid "streamlining" through automation.

So to simply maintain their standard of living, such as it is, workers are more and more pressured to go beyond wage demands to raise questions around control of production itself. The higher educational level of today's workers, which gives them a broader picture of the economic process, only adds to this pressure.

## New context

This is the context of the NDP discussion. In their "industrial democracy" proposals, Ed Broadbent and Tony Carew clearly argue for some form of workers control of industry. Broadbent concludes with some "proposals for action" which are a series of legislative reforms designed to limit management rights. His key demand, a good one, is that companies be forced to open their books to workers' inspection. He even calls for legislation to "remove all rights of control from those who own companies or own shares in companies."

Morden Lazarus, on the other hand, is dead set against Broadbent's radicalism. He suggests that a fight for industrial democracy would raise more problems, not solve them. He echoes the view (expressed in its crassest form by British prime minister Harold Wilson, and now thoroughly discredited by the British Labor government's experience) that if the economy and labor legislation were streamlined, the work process would become relatively unimportant, and leisure time correspondingly increased. The conclusion is that NDP thinkers should be concerned about control of leisure time, not work.

Lazarus' critique, however, highlights an important weakness in Broadbent's argument. Lazarus asks if the concept of industrial democracy is compatible with capitalism — if its purpose is to make workers happier with capitalism or undermine it. Referring to Broadbent's "proposals for action," he says: "As for removing all rights of control from owners, short of public ownership, it doesn't make sense." Being a firm supporter of capitalism and private ownership, Lazarus stops there, satisfied to dream about his increasing leisure hours.

The weakness in Broadbent's argument is that, despite some radical verbiage about replacing "an economy controlled by a private few with one controlled by the public many," his proposals for industrial democracy are not presented within a clear class perspective of using the fight for workers control demands in order to bring the working class to a realization of the necessity for social ownership of the means of production.

The early advocates of workers control always presented the program within this uncompromisingly anti-capitalist framework. For example, the Regina Manifesto's section on industrial democracy was not some abstract projection of what would be desirable but flowed logically from the basic anti-capitalist framework of the manifesto which called for the public ownership of the economy as a prerequisite for the building of a real industrial democracy.

The renewed demands for workers control of industry today, 36 years after the Regina manifesto, in the context of a "managed" capitalism, simply validates the integral link between the day-to-day struggle of workers under capitalism, and the necessity for public ownership of the economy embedded in the Regina Manifesto.

## Control, not participation

The demand for industrial democracy must be clearly designed to increase the workers' power against management, to develop their capacity to struggle beyond the limited framework of wage demands. When Broadbent and Carew fail to question the ownership which stands behind the bosses' traditional rights, they sidestep the essential boss-worker relationship with what amounts to a veneer of "participation," not control. In Western Europe, particularly West Germany, "participation" or "co-determination" has coopted the trade union apparatus into the hierarchy of capitalist business, shackled the unions to productivity goals, and thereby increased the rate of exploitation of West German workers. This can hardly be termed "industrial democracy."

The value of the industrial democracy debate is that it raises a whole series of demands which could be used to mobilize the labor movement and the NDP in the

## Some further reading:

**The Debate on Workers Control  
by Ernest Mandel  
(an article in International  
Socialist Review) ..... \$50**

available from

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**INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY AT RENAULT.** Some of the 40,000 workers who seized the huge auto works in suburban Paris during last year's worker-student revolt in May and June. Many of the 10 million strikers throughout France occupied factories to show determination to take control of production away from the bosses.

fight for socialism. For example, why shouldn't the corporations be forced to open their books as Broadbent and Carew suggest? Shouldn't workers whose livelihood is at stake have the right of veto over layoffs and

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With the high level of technology in the plant today, workers now know as much about production as management and often more. Production, speed, quotas, etc., could be in the hands of the workers themselves, supervised by workers elected from their own ranks and responsible to them, not the boss.

### Control of economy

In fact, a rounded series of demands giving workers control over their lives in the factories and offices could be extended to include the larger aspects of economic life, such as control over the computing of the consumer price index through committees of housewives, workers, farmers and specialists as well as the elimination of banking secrecy through workers' inspection and workers' control over investments and the allocation of resources. Demands such as this, arising from the daily experience of workers, challenge the right of the boss to rule on the plant floor.

The drive against managements' rights and the fight for workers control of industry thus contains the seeds of a direct challenge to the power of the capitalists by counterposing to their power the power of the workers in the industry itself. The living meaning of a struggle for workers' control is clear. The challenge of the right of capital to rule in

the plant becomes a challenge to capitalism since the capitalist system is based on this right. The fight for workers control involves a direct confrontation with management determined to protect its traditional rights. It leads to a showdown over who owns the plant, the industry and the economy and thus poses the entire question of economic planning through public ownership of the economy.

The experiences in Western Europe demonstrate that proposals for establishing workers control in industry which fail to see it as a giant step in the struggle for fundamental social change — an anti-capitalist struggle — could turn out in practice to operate to create even more illusions around a system which institutionalizes control in the hands of an exploiting minority.

Worse, without an anti-capitalist perspective, it can simply subject the workers' organizations to responsibility for productivity, and lessen their independence of management.

If the discussion on industrial democracy is to bear fruit and move the NDP in the direction of a class struggle program, then it must go beyond the limited framework of the Broadbent-Carew proposals. It must link up with the socialist program being developed around the authors of the Manifesto "For an Independent Socialist Canada," and the break with a reformist program that it poses.



## **Debate on 'Industrial Democracy'**

### ***NDP discusses workers' control***

*(Workers' Vanguard, September 1969)*

by John Steele

A popular complaint today, expressed in surveys, newspaper articles and TV programs centers on the powerlessness of people. The youth especially demand control over their lives and resist being pushed around and manipulated by bosses, school administrations and the government. A powerful ingredient of Trudeaumania which helped return the Liberals to power in 1968 was the promise of a new era in government based on "participatory democracy" through control and involvement of the people.

This questioning of the present system, which has found expression in the labor movement and the New Democratic Party in the current discussion over whether capitalism should be reformed or abolished, has raised another key and directly related problem — the question of extending political democracy to the industrial or plant level through control of industry by the working people themselves.

### **Scope of the question**

Prime Minister Trudeau reflected the far-reaching implications of this question at a teach-in with Canadian students last April in Britain when he was asked what he thought of developing industrial democracy in Canadian industry. He said the notion that management should be accountable to the workers rather than the shareholders was "nonsense."

What lies behind Trudeau's reaction — lover of democracy that he claims to be? When the ten million workers participating in the May 1968 French general strike rejected an initial wage offer of 14 percent and occupied their factories for two weeks, were they not expressing a strong sentiment for control over their lives in the factory? Does the French experience have meaning in Canada? The discussion of industrial democracy which is opening up in NDP circles begins to probe some of these questions.

The current discussion has been initiated by, among others, Ed Broadbent, Oshawa NDP MP, Anthony Carew, research director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, and Morden Lazarus of the Ontario Federation of Labor.\*

=====BOX=====

\*See *Industrial Democracy: a proposal presented to the NDP federal council*, by Ed Broadbent, MP, *Canadian Forum*, August '69 (similar article in *Canadian Dimension*, July '69); *Industrial Democracy — European Developments and their Relevance for Canada*, by Anthony Carew, Confrontations Publications, Box 1044, Edmonton; and *Issues of Industrial Democracy: Old and New*, by Morden Lazarus, OFL Political Education Committee memo, July 15, 1969.

===== END BOX=====

Carew and Broadbent argue that if socialism is to mean something better than the welfare state, it must involve democracy on the industrial level so that workers can exercise control over decisions that directly affect them such as hiring and firing, prices, products — all areas now preserved for the boss under the accepted framework of management's rights. Lazarus and Carew survey the history of industrial democracy concepts in the labor and socialist movement. They point out that the CCF's *Regina Manifesto* in 1933 dealt extensively with industrial democracy, and note that while the current NDP program defends collective bargaining on bread and butter issues of wages and hours, it ignores the concept of industrial democracy.

## **Arises in Canada**

This discussion is an important one for the NDP. Workers are increasingly challenging the bosses' right to control their livelihoods, and asserting their right to a job. In May, 500 Vickers shipyard workers in Montreal staged a sit-in to protest closure of the yards. Similar action was taken by workers at Davies Shipbuilding in Quebec City last year, when they and their families pitched tents and camped in them on the company's property to protest an impending shutdown. As a result, the federal government was forced to step in and provide for continued operation of the plant well past the original deadline.

Last November, striking workers armed with rifles and shotguns occupied the Domtar paper mill at Windsor, Quebec. They took over the plant and expelled the security guards to protest the company's threats to close down the mills, and threats of vigilante attacks on their picket lines.

But the issue of workers' rights has extended further, to on-the-job conditions. The crisis on Canada's railways over the elimination of thousands of jobs through automation and the shutting down of unprofitable lines has sharply raised the question. The government's Freedman report on railway runthroughs questioned the arbitrary right of management to throw workers out of jobs with little or no notice, and favored giving workers more control over the hiring and firing process.

Twenty-eight hundred steelworkers at the government-operated Sysco plant in Sydney, Nova Scotia, walked off the job in March this year over a series of grievances which involved workers' intervention in the traditional prerogatives of management. For example, the workers opposed outside contractors being brought into the plant, the shipping of work to other foundries, and the demolition of a shipping pier which meant the loss of several hundred jobs until its replacement.

And Quebec teachers have demanded control over what they call "the tools of our profession." After accepting in May the wage scale offered by the government, they launched a fight on what they considered to be equally important issues. They called it "co-management" and demanded equal authority with the school boards on deciding such matters as the work load (number of students per teacher) and the choice of text books and other equipment.

In Britain and Europe the struggle for workers control of the job has taken on wide scope. It is a key question today in France and Italy.

## New conditions

Workers control has been an integral part of the revolutionary socialist program for many years. Writing in the May-June 1969 *International Socialist Review*, the noted Marxist economist Ernest Mandel notes that "it arose in the course of the Russian revolution. The Communist International adopted it at its Third Congress. It played an important role in the revolutionary struggles in Germany in 1920-23. The Belgian unions raised this demand during the twenties. Trotsky incorporated it into the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. André Renard (Belgian left-wing trade union leader) took it up again towards the fifties. Today it arises with considerably greater force. Workers more than ever before face a "managed" capitalist economy. The big corporations are interlocked with the state. Wage increases are wiped out by price increases and tax hikes and other more indirect fiscal manipulations. There is a concerted effort on the part of government and the bosses to tie wages to productivity with the imposition of an "incomes policy."

=====BOX=====

### Mandel on Workers' Control

*"The demand for workers' control, by involving the immediate right of inspection and veto for workers in a whole series of aspects of the life of the enterprise — while declining all responsibility for its management, as long as private property and the capitalist state are still in existence — thus answers a need born out of social and economic life itself. The structure of the enterprise no longer corresponds to the needs of the economy nor to the aspirations of the workers.*

*"In this sense, this demand is eminently anti-capitalist, because capitalism is not definitively characterized by low salaries nor even by a large number of unemployed workers (although periodic recessions remain inevitable and important). It is characterized by the fact that capital, that capitalists, rule men and machines. Challenging this right to rule, and counterposing another kind of power to it, means taking concrete actions to overthrow the capitalist system."*

— Ernest Mandel, in *The Debate on Workers' Control*

=====END BOX=====

In other words, since the workers have no means of determining or controlling production, the traditional struggle for pay increases becomes increasingly futile unless workers go beyond these demands to "challenge the relationship between prices and wages, wages and money, wage increases and increases in productivity which the employers and the governments in their pay seek to impose on them as 'inevitable.'" Another aspect of the "managed" economy is the rapid "streamlining" through automation.

So to simply maintain their standard of living, such as it is, workers are more and more pressured to go beyond wage demands to raise questions around control of production



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*Photo caption:* INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY AT RENAULT. Some of the 40,000 workers who seized the huge auto works in suburban Paris during last year's worker-student revolt in May and June. Many of the 10 million strikers throughout France occupied factories to show determination to take control of production away from the bosses.

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logically from the basic anti-capitalist framework of the manifesto which called for the public ownership of the economy as a prerequisite for the building of a real industrial democracy.

The renewed demands for workers control of industry today, 36 years after the *Regina Manifesto (the radical founding program of CCF in Western Canada -- ed.)*, in the context of a "managed" capitalism, simply validates the integral link between the day-to-day struggle of workers under capitalism, and the necessity for public ownership of the economy embedded in the *Regina Manifesto*.

### **Control, not participation**

The demand for industrial democracy must be clearly designed to increase the workers' power against management, to develop their capacity to struggle beyond the limited framework of wage demands. When Broadbent and Carew fail to question the ownership which stands behind the bosses' traditional rights, they sidestep the essential boss-worker relationship with what amounts to a veneer of "participation," not control. In Western Europe, particularly West Germany, "participation" or "co-determination" has co-opted the trade union apparatus into the hierarchy of capitalist business, shackled the unions to productivity goals, and thereby increased the rate of exploitation of West German workers. This can hardly be termed "industrial democracy."

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In fact, a rounded series of demands giving workers control over their lives in the factories and offices could be extended to include the larger aspects of economic life, such as control over the computing of the consumer price index through committees of housewives, workers, farmers and specialists as well as the elimination of banking secrecy through workers' inspection and workers' control over investments and the allocation of resources. Demands such as this, arising from the daily experience of workers, challenge the right of the boss to rule on the plant floor.

The drive against managements' rights and the fight for workers control of industry thus contains the seeds of a direct challenge to the power of the capitalists by counterposing to their power the power of the workers in the industry itself. The living meaning of a struggle for workers' control is clear. The challenge of the right of capital to rule in the plant becomes a challenge to capitalism since the capitalist system is based on this right. The fight for workers control involves a direct confrontation with management determined to protect its traditional rights. It leads to a showdown over who owns the plant, the industry and the economy and thus poses the entire question of economic planning through public ownership of the economy.

The experiences in Western Europe demonstrate that proposals for establishing workers control in industry which fail to see it as a giant step in the struggle for fundamental social change — an anti-capitalist struggle — could turn out in practice to operate to create even more illusions around a system which institutionalizes control in the hands of an exploiting minority.

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If the discussion on industrial democracy is to bear fruit and move the NDP in the direction of a class struggle program, then it must go beyond the limited framework of the Broadbent-Carew proposals. It must link up with the socialist program being developed around the authors of the "Manifesto for an Independent Socialist Canada," (*the nascent NDP left-nationalist "Waffle" group statement --ed.*) and the break with a reformist program that it poses.



## **On our Toronto women's Liberation work**

by Alice Klein (undated, found in 1969)

This summer, the Toronto Branch and Local were faced with a very new situation in our women's liberation work. After a long period of only being able to criticize other groups for their various shortcomings, we were in the position of being in the leadership of a new group - the possibility for carrying out our orientation of building a mass, broadly-based women's liberation group had arrived. The purpose of this document is to outline the development of our women's liberation work over this summer period and to analyze and evaluate what we have learned and what the general tasks are before us.

### **The Founding of a new group**

By mid-June our Women's liberation work was at a real standstill. We had spent a year knocking our heads against the wall of the new left, cliquish leadership of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) trying to push for a mass orientation in a group constantly waffling between ultra-leftism and reformist 'community' action. (Not to say that this was altogether unproductive - we made some real gains during the abortion caravan and gained experience in this new area of activity.) The New Feminists, in which we also participated had been holding their membership to 16 for the last six months and were in the process of going into small 'cell' formations to participate in intensive 'consciousness-raising' with a very strong anti-male orientation. It was around this turn in the New Feminists that the split developed. Five members of the 16, one of them a comrade, disagreed with this development and set out to build a new group. There is a moral to this story. Had we not had a comrade working consistently in the group, constantly putting forth our orientation, constantly legitimizing to basically anti-political women her right as a Trotskyist to participate in the struggle for women's liberation, we would never have been able to polarize the independents around us to form what was completely established right from the beginning — a broad, non-exclusionist women's liberation movement.

### **B) Nature of the Toronto Women's Caucus (TWC)**

The TWC has a contact list of approximately 200 women. Meetings are consistently attended by 20 to 30 women plus 8 comrades. In the three months of its existence, a core of around 15 women besides ourselves had developed; women who speak at meetings, are active on the committees, etc. The majority of the group are working women, with a number of high schoolers and very few campus women besides ourselves.

There are no other political tendencies operating within the TWC. In general, the group is on a very low level, most are new to women's liberation and have never participated in any other political grouping except for the small core of ex-New Feminists. The main debates of the women's liberation movement are not yet a part of the group.

The major challenges before the group are:

- a) to politicize the women
- b) to develop new women
- c) to create structures which meet these needs

d) (of course)~to build the women's liberation movement and to struggle around our transitional demands

a) We must politicize the group in order that the assumptions on which our progress is based, now accepted by the group implicitly, become consciously understood perspectives. They must be armed to deal with united front situations in which we are counter-posed to other organizations; to understand clearly the differences between the groups. We must give them the opportunity to develop their analytical abilities in order to intervene in the cross-country women's liberation movement, to have ideological force, to act as an example.

b) Very closely related to the politicization of the women in the group is the question of developing the new women in the group, integrating them into the committees, and leadership, producing militant, articulate activists. The group has no viability without a broad leadership. It is the only way to retain new women; to build the group. We want to develop strong women liberationists who understand and agree with our perspective. It is important, too, that the load of work of building actions and meetings be taken off the shoulders of the comrades in the YS and LSA. Secondly, we can't hope to win women over to a socialist perspective and to recruit them unless they are developing politically.

There are some general problems that we have in carrying out these two important aspects of our work which are very much linked to the nature of the group. Firstly, we must understand that it is not only that the membership in general that has to be taken into consideration in tackling these problems; we must also undertake to educate the non-trotskyist leadership to orient towards the developing women. This is a very touchy situation not so much in theory as in its practical application. Women, in their dedication and in their militancy don't always find it easy to tone down their participation in the group and this tends to intimidate the newer women. They must learn to refrain from volunteering for committees or assignments to allow a less experienced sister to take their place. (Nor is it so easy for Trotskyist women - it has to be a conscious policy!) Secondly, it is in no way a campus based group as the WLM tended to be. We were faced with the situation of dealing with women who had never expressed themselves in political terms before. This is reflected in the hesitancy which many of the women feel in participating in discussions and actions, as well as in the low political level of the group.

c) Structure becomes, in a situation like this, a question of primary importance. It must both meet the needs of the women in the group as well as push the movement forward. It is, needless to mention, an area in which we have had no experience. It must be understood that it is very difficult to translate our experience from other areas into some guidelines for organization in this arena because of the very nature of women's liberation.

Women expect and need more at these meetings than in any other political milieu; they are searching for more than just answers to any one problem. The entire set of assumptions on which woman's life is based,- her role, her relationships, her mannerisms, her identity,- this is at the core of the explosiveness of women's liberation. The movement can't forget that, if it is to attract and develop new women. This is a problem for which we have no hard and fast solutions but we have learned a few lessons.

**Actual structure of the TWC**

Steering Committee - Five women steering committee with two comrades (elected). This group draws up the agenda for the weekly meetings, keeps on top of the other committees, makes decisions which arise between meetings.

Contact Committee - Five or six women with comrade coordinator (volunteer). This committee does consistent phonings of the contact list, establishing personal contact with women, getting new women out to meetings and actions, etc. As well, the contact committee is responsible for the social life of the group. We are working on establishing informal gatherings like a wine and cheese party which would help us to establish contact both among the women in the group and to reach outside. (There are a number of variations of this - i.e. women only, women and men, combination social and fund raising etc.) That this area be consistently active is absolutely central to the work of the group.

Publicity Committee - We have come to the conclusion that this Committee functions best as a very small committee of two or three which has the responsibility of mobilizing and involving the rest of the group around whatever projects are necessary, such as posterings, leafleting, press-conferences, speaking engagements, etc. We have one comrade on this committee.

Fund-raising Committee is still not functioning yet. It is, like the publicity committee, composed of two or three 'idea' people, who can meet more easily than a large group and are again responsible for mobilizing the group to carry the actual work.

Educational Committee is responsible for preparing series of external classes to draw new women into the group.

The basic concept behind these structures is to keep the committees fluid, so that there is always a means by which new women can get involved, not only through discussion, but organizationally as well. For this reason we hold the on-going committees to a minimum and instead form project committees as the need arises. Of course, the set up is, especially because of its newness, in a state of flux.

The over-riding aspect of our work in this period is experimentation and flexibility. From the beginning, the group seems to have understood the need for meetings to be conducted with a chairwomen, speaker's lists, voting etc. We have found that business meetings must be integrated with educationals -- we try not to create a dichotomy between developing theoretically and learning organizationally. The educational aspect of our work is of central importance. If we are to get the women in the group involved, it is important that the educational discussions be on questions to which the members can relate in a personal way, questions through which they learn to articulate their own oppression. Consciousness-raising is, in this context, a necessary component of our work. It attracts new women, gives cohesiveness to the group, opens the group up to new people and last, but not least, teaches us about our oppression and how to develop ideas. Thus, the educationals in this stage of development must be on a fairly low political level or on topical issues with which the group is coming to grips, i.e. abortion, the nature of beauty contests.



We found that it is really crucial to keep the meetings short -- generally one and one-half hours with plenty of time for a free-wheeling educational discussion and an informal coffee-discussion time afterwards. The coffee-time is very important for contact work, putting members at ease with each other, and as an outlet for more personal interaction and discussion — women learn to regard each other as sisters.

If we are to politicize the group, to prevent a cliquish leadership, we must encourage women to express divergent viewpoints (and we must learn to react 'coolly' to this). This teaches our sisters to detach the personal from the political, to think independently. It keeps the leadership from becoming over-heavy, makes us aware of the sentiments and tendencies in the group and gives us the chance to explain our participation and orientation to women's liberation,

### **Action:**

Right from the very beginning we were posing that the group take some actions, to establish our name on the Toronto scene, to draw forces around us. Actions, very simply are the only way to ensure that an outward reaching, mass movement orientation would really be concretized or have any meaning for the women in the group. Of course, actions are also important for reasons like pushing the movement forward and giving women experience in how to organize and how to struggle.

First, we organized a high school conference. There were problems — we hadn't established real networks in the high schools, school was already out, it was on the same day as a major rock festival -- but it was in many ways a real success. It consolidated a high school fraction of the TWC, reached about 20 new women, got us into the press and gave the group real confidence in its ability to act on its own and organize. The high school fraction intervened in the Toronto Women Teacher's Federation Conference with the demands of: end to streaming; integration of gym, health, and home economics-industrial arts courses; more women principles (principals — ed.) The response was very favourable, again with press coverage. Jo O'Brien, British women's liberationist and editor of Socialist Woman was sponsored by the TWC in an open meeting of about 150 women. It was a real chance to internationalize the perspective of the TWC, contact new people and really make a reputation for the group.

Actions protesting the Miss Toronto Beauty contest was a major step in the group. Meetings are a real breeze compared to participating in really vocal and public demonstrations. And of course there was great hesitancy, and not too many women besides ourselves showed up -- but it set a precedent and an atmosphere which we will capitalize on in other actions.

August 26 international strike was a whole 'other trip' for us. The response to our mid-day City Hall speak-out action was qualitatively more successful than any other similar action that we've held on any issue in the recent history of the movement. The press has never given such anti-capitalist ideas such publicity in the past. The action, too, really showed where we were at compared to the other women's lib groups who did absolutely nothing with this fantastic opportunity.

The main problem has been that the YS has ended up carrying a greater load of the work than

is desirable - a reflection of the problem of pulling other women into the organizational work. On the whole, the most astonishing characteristic of the group is the extent to which in such a short time, it has established itself in Toronto as a real force in the women's liberation movement. The bourgeois media has picked us up as being the most outgoing and fastest growing group.

### **Building a News Paper:**

A major part of building a mass movement is a vehicle with which to spread the ideas. The TWC is in the midst of creating the 'Velvet Fist', an 8 page tabloid. The editorial board consists of seven members, of which three are comrades, and two alternates. We had to, as in all other assignments, weight the balance between forming a strong ed. board and not over-loading it, very carefully, especially in a body of such strategic importance. In this particular conjuncture, the launching of a Toronto-based women's liberation paper is really significant - there is no competition to meet the needs of the ever-deepening radicalization around this issue.

### **Program of the TWC:**

The TWC, like the North American movement in general has more or less accepted the basic demands of our transitional program. Basically, the group is held together by two assumptions: 1) that women are oppressed, and 2) that we must build a mass movement of women to struggle against that oppression. The specifics are dealt with as they arise, i.e., when the beauty contest came up, we adopted a position against the sexual objectification of women and the use of women's bodies to make profits and sell products.

### **Other Groups**

The WLM and the New Feminists have both been mentioned. In addition there is the NDP Women's Liberation Group which is really not a viable group at this particular conjuncture, mostly due to a very sectarian, Trotskyist-baiting leadership. But all three of the groups are in no way static. We are just beginning to hear of a break down in the seemingly monolithic leadership of the WLM. There is some indication that the New Feminists may be coming out of their cell-structure, and the NDP group is certainly not dormant forever. This, combined with the growing impact of the TWC, which will force other groups to take a stand vis-à-vis building a mass movement, makes our orientation to the other groups a question of importance. We keep an eye on these groups and should there be any positive developments, we will strike off comrades to work in them.

### **Internal aspects of our work:**

We are recruiting increasingly more women from this area. Thus we must develop the new comrades and train them in the norms of our movement. At the same time even the more experienced comrades are very new to the kinds of tasks which are before us. This, combined with coordinating one of the largest fractions of the movement and the demands of operating in a flexible way in the milieu, create certain problems.

We are just beginning to discuss the problem of adapting democratic-centralism to our needs in

this work trying to avoid the dual pitfalls of inflexibility and over-sensitivity. Further, we face problems in developing a collective leadership - in making sure that each comrade in the fraction is developing, and that the work load is divided among all the comrades and not resting too heavily on the coordinating team.

The fantastic development of our comrades in this area and the important gains that we have made in our women's liberation work make the prospect of our continuing work in this area, an inspiring perspective.



# Anti-war protest set for Nov. 15

See page 8

## workers Vanguard

Vol. 14, No. 3 (183)

October 6, 1969

Price 15 Cents

The  
meaning  
of  
St-Leonard

Page 6

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The conference featured panel discussions on socialism, industrial democracy, the relationship between the party and the labour movement. (See page 4)

Vancouver meeting, page 5.

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A weekly newsletter called the *Waffle Weekly* has been launched for national coordination. Send information on endorsements and requests for copies to Tracy Morey, 118 Wurtemburg St., Ottawa, Ontario.



Photos by Ken Wolfson

**MASS MEETING** at University of Toronto demanded President Bissell dissociate university from anti-democratic disciplinary measures. In front row, from right, Young Socialists Alice Klein, Dave Hemblen, Harry Kopyto, Joe Young and Ellie Kirzner.

## U of T moves to limit dissent; student-faculty strike at SFU

by Joe Young

**TORONTO** — The University of Toronto campus is plunged into the biggest crisis it has experienced at least since the Second World War.

It all began on September 18 when the presidents of the 14 provincially supported universities in Ontario issued a working paper on discipline which threatened expulsion and police intervention against students who commit undefined acts such as "disruption" and "violence."

The outcry against this warning of repression reached a storm two days later at the University of Toronto when the Caput, the

university disciplinary body which includes no students, issued a statement outlining procedures for suspension or expulsion in the case of "disruption," still undefined. What had only been a threat became in effect law on the largest campus in the country.

Many students realized that what was posed was an attack on every student. A Young Socialist leaflet spelled out the implications: "This statement is so vague that it threatens not only student radicals but everyone from members of the Lady Godiva's Memorial Band to a student who may be

questioning his professor too 'harshly'."

The administration's threats came in response to a few radical actions on Ontario campuses — but no violence. Many of those protests which had occurred were directed against support of violence by the university administration through permitting military research and recruitment of war companies on campus.

The student response was immediate. On September 22, the student representatives on an interim body studying the Caput resigned

(See page 3)

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IN CONVENTION ASS. This month's convention of federal NDP promises to be most important since founding in 1961 (above) as forces around new socialist manifesto challenge make-capitalism program of present leadership.



# Discuss left strategy

(continued from page 1)

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Gerry Caplan's remarks on the international context centered on an excellent although brief exposé of the role of developed capitalist countries in oppressing the underdeveloped nations, and in particular Canada's foreign aid programs. The objective role of U.S. imperialism, he said, is to maintain underdevelopment. "For all our talk about foreign aid, what we're doing is to increase the dependence of these countries

exercise," he emphasized the absolute necessity to "support the right of self-determination of the French Canadian nation centered in Quebec."

Like many other conference participants Laxer showed particular concern over the lack of interest among French Canadian nationalists in seeking a "common alliance" with socialists in English Canada. Pointing to the ISC manifesto's assertion that common purposes will emerge as the struggle develops in both nations, he noted that this is an open-ended equation; the form of the alliance cannot be determined in advance. Its only basis would be found in building the socialist movement now in English Canada.

Giles Endicott, a member of the NDP federal council who works for the Canadian Food and Allied Workers Union, emphasized that the trade unions "are central to the socialist strategy in Canada," that socialists in the NDP must seek support for their views from trade unionist members of the party, or fail to see those views adopted. He attributed the conservative "non-ideological" views of the trade union leadership to the workers' low level of political consciousness, and projected demands for workers control as a strategy for building socialist consciousness in the ranks.

Endicott warned that calling for Canadian economic independence from U.S. domination did not mean exalting Canadian unions in principle against international unions; "corporations determine economic power," he said, "but trade unions don't." He noted the progressive role of the internationals in bringing industrial unionism into Canada.

## Anti-labor prejudice

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Some saw the roots of the trade unions' conservatism in their international affiliations; others, in their confinement to the relatively better-paid sectors of the work force (forgetting that it is precisely trade unionism which is responsible for high-wage sectors). Some went even further, to echo the capitalists' argument that unions were "selfish" to seek wage increases for their membership since such increases raise the cost of living for unorganized and disadvan-



Photos by Ken Wolfson

**MELVILLE WATKINS** discusses the *Vanguard's* analysis of the Watkins Manifesto with Hugh Winsor, a signer of the manifesto.

ment introducing and expanding on its main ideas. Mel Watkins summarized these as 1) the "American empire" is the "major threat" to world peace and progress, and the only way to roll back U.S. domination of Canada is through socialism, the means to an independent Canada, since the Canadian ruling élite has been "emasculated" and "absorbed into the U.S. empire"; 2) socialism means nationalization of all the major industries; 3) solidarity with the "anti-imperialist" struggle in Quebec; 4) industrial democracy, which

on the West." Canada, Caplan noted, takes one and one-half times as much money out of the Third World annually as it puts into it.

## Self-determination for Quebec

Jim Laxer, a contributor to *Canadian Dimension*, criticized the NDP's position on Quebec. Its evolution through various constitutional options from "special status" to "particular status" adds up to "little more than a commitment not to infringe the provincial rights that Quebec has had since confederation." In place of this "irrelevant



P.3

tagged sectors of the population.

There was considerable sentiment for the idea that the NDP should drop its provision for direct affiliation of unions. Many saw the source of the NDP's opportunism simply in its close ties with the unions, rather than in the reformist politics of both the labor and NDP bureaucracies.

André Bekerman, a staff representative of the Canadian Union of Public Employees and a member of the panel on Industrial Democracy, did much to cut across this confusion. The problem with the labor movement was not so much structural as political, he said.

#### Cooperation of leadership

"The fundamental approach of the state to unions has been to concentrate on co-opting them into the system. This particular strategy happens to fit in very well with the ideology of the general leadership of the labor movement who see themselves as not in any way opposed to . . . the system. They're just talking about their share of the pie."

The myopic conservatism, the reformism, of these labor leaders has aided the ruling class in its propaganda that unions are responsible for everything from poverty and racism to incomes disparities, and "the fact that the majority of people haven't even a minimal voice in control of their own lives."

So long as the workers do not control the means of production or the state, of course, the wage struggle will continue to be a fundamental one. But, Bekerman noted, some of the most bitter union struggles recently have been fought not over money but over working conditions.

Demands for workers control start from this necessity to contest traditional management prerogatives on the plant floor. But Bekerman warned that unless they were presented as part of an anti-capitalist strategy they could end up like much of today's grievance procedure — "instead of contesting management rights, it winds up under virtual compulsory arbitration 90 percent of the time." Participation, or control — this was the choice, he said.

Bekerman's remarks were echoed by fellow-unionist Gerry Hunnius, who used many examples from European experience — including a devastating description of Social-Democratic Sweden's "labor courts" — to bear out this distinction.

The discussion of workers control, however, seemed somewhat removed from the more pressing question of how socialists can relate to the trade unions, and the conference never did really come to grips with some of the problems raised.

#### Extra-parliamentary activity

On Sunday, the conference got down to discussing a more concrete program of action for socialists in and around the NDP. There was general agreement that the party should become more involved in extra-parliamentary action, including tenants' organizations, the student movement, women's liberation

groups, etc. (Strangely, no one mentioned the anti-war movement, which has played an important part in exposing and clarifying the complicit relationship of the Canadian ruling class with its Washington mentors.)

There was a noticeable reluctance, even inability among participants to envisage parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity as part of a single overall strategy. The tendency was to see parliament and election campaigns as nothing more than opportunistic vote-grabbing, instead of the powerful supplement such actions can be to the strategy of a combat party engaged in mobilizing the working class, in all its activities as a class, toward real political power.

This confusion was not resolved by the panel on this subject, the composition of which itself reflected the situation: the expert on extra-parliamentary action, Gerry Hunnius, is not a member or supporter of the NDP and in fact thinks it is a complete waste of time to try to win the party to socialism; while the expert on parliamentary action, Stephen Lewis, Ontario MPP, is not a supporter of the ISC manifesto or the socialist wing of the party. (Ex-student and NDY leader-turned Toronto *Star*-editorial writer Steven Langdon was somewhere in the middle of this dialogue of the deaf, lamely insisting that *all* groups have something to contribute and socialists shouldn't waste time differing among themselves.)

#### Lewis on strategy

Lewis' contribution was most interesting for what it indicated of the strategy the right wing is preparing to deal with the left forces at the upcoming Winnipeg convention. Lewis attempted to slur over the many obvious differences between the ISC document and the positions of the present NDP leadership:

"When you clear away the rhetoric of, let's say the first part of the Manifesto, and you come down to the resolution on foreign ownership and foreign control . . . let me tell you frankly that there will be almost no argument with any single point in the content of that resolution at the federal convention. It will be largely embraced by the convention, and for the Charles Taylors and Carry Levitts and John Harneys and many who will be there putting another position this will be viewed in some ways as a moderate document. Indeed the only area of contention will be in the area of nationalized industries — which, exactly, you intend to nationalize and where you intend to find the money for compensation."

Lewis referred to the eagerness with which the Ontario convention last fall voted for nationalization of the natural resources in Northern Ontario. What he neglected to mention, however, was that the leadership simply ignored that resolution, as indeed it often ignores convention decisions.

#### A continuing left

This and other problems raised during the conference were taken up at the final session on building a continuing left. Everyone agreed on the necessity to continue the discussion in some organized form after Winnipeg, whatever the outcome of the federal convention.

In particular, panel member Regula Modlich, who was a leading activist in the Socialist Caucus which pioneered in speaking for the left in the NDP, stressed the necessity for the left to undertake a serious educational campaign within the party and at the convention to clarify the nature of its challenge to the present liberal-reformist NDP program. It would be naive, she warned, for the supporters of the manifesto to think they could win a meaningful majority for their views without going through a hard-fought battle with the existing leadership. The struggle for a socialist party would only be won "when there is a leadership which speaks, acts and leads the party consistently in a socialist direction."

She criticized a certain tendency among many authors and supporters of the document not to take themselves seriously — for example, by designating their document the "Waffle Manifesto." Such an attitude would play directly into the hands of the right wing; witness Stephen Lewis' attempt to minimize the differences as simply "rhetorical."

Position papers on many of the topics discussed in workshops during the two-day conference are now being circulated to riding associations and affiliated union locals for endorsement. These resolutions and some of the problems and challenges facing the left around the convention will be discussed in the next issue of the *Vanguard*.

# Women, the press, exclusionism -noted at the ISC conference

The Independent Socialist Canada manifesto received wide coverage in the big business daily press. After the initial news conference — where press gallery spokesmen broke with tradition to argue with the manifesto's architects! — more than 30 newspaper editorials and columns were devoted to the issues raised by the document. Reaction was distinctly hostile.

Commenting at the Toronto conference on the universal condemnation of the manifesto's ideas by the press, Mel Watkins suggested manifesto supporters shouldn't take it too seriously. What it indicated, he said, was the great "need for a radical newspaper in this country."

\* \* \*

The workshop on women's liberation strongly criticized the NDP women's committee for in effect accepting the male chauvinist image of women's role in politics as little more than letter-stuffing and holding tea parties. It urged the party to take on a full-time paid woman organizer, and to speak out for women's rights in society.

The workshop participants agreed to organize a women's caucus at the convention which would continue after the convention on a permanent basis. The caucus would be open to all women delegates, regardless of

their views.

\* \* \*

One factor behind the success of the conference was its openness to all views on the left. No one was excluded for his or her political views, and even the panels featured people of often widely divergent views. The resulting cross-fertilization of opinion made for a consistently high level of discussion and interest.

The only echo of the unfortunate tactics in Vancouver (see report opposite page) was when the ONDY leaders, organizers of the conference, excluded Dick Fidler from the panel on community action and tenants' work. Fidler, an executive member of the Ontario Tenants Association, had been delegated from the OTA to serve on the panel in response to an invitation from the organizers. Asked why they didn't want Fidler on the panel, the YND spokesmen said it was because of his views — he is a member of the League for Socialist Action and managing editor of the *Vanguard*.

The panel on tenants' organizing took place without a tenants' representative. The OTA chairman Lee Patterson, asked to come as a substitute, correctly stood by his original decision on the principle that the YND had no right to choose whom they wanted to represent the OTA.

## **Map socialist strategy**

### ***At the September 1969 Waffle conference in Toronto***

by Dick Fidler

*(from Workers' Vanguard, October 1969)*

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The conference featured panel discussions on socialism, industrial democracy, the relation between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary action, and building a continuing left. There were speeches on foreign ownership (by Melville Watkins, chairman of the federal government's task force on the same subject, and an author of the ISC manifesto), and building a mass base for the NDP. And there were workshops on Quebec, foreign ownership, U.S. imperialism, national and international unions, women's liberation, tenants and community organizing, students and the university, and organizing the unorganized.

The conference opened with a panel of some of the principal authors of the document introducing and expanding on its main ideas. Mel Watkins summarized these as 1) the "American empire" is the "major threat" to world peace and progress, and the only way to roll back U.S. domination of Canada is through socialism, the means to an independent Canada, since the Canadian ruling elite has been "emasculated" and "absorbed into the U.S. empire"; 2) socialism means nationalization of all the major industries; 3) solidarity with the "anti-imperialist" struggle in Quebec; 4) industrial democracy, which Watkins defined as "workers control," must be introduced; and 5) for the NDP, electoral politics alone is "no longer sufficient."

"The struggle for a Canadian entity," he said, "serves the interests of anti-imperialism in the world."

Gerry Caplan's remarks on the international context centered on an excellent although brief expose of the role of developed capitalist countries in oppressing the underdeveloped nations, and in particular Canada's foreign aid programs. The objective role of U.S. imperialism, he said, is to maintain underdevelopment. "For all our talk about foreign aid, what we're doing is to increase the dependence of these countries on the



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# NDP-labor ties debated in B.C.

VANCOUVER, September 28 — Over 80 NDPers attended today's symposium in Vancouver's IWA Hall on the Watkins manifesto, *For An Independent Socialist Canada*. There is widespread sympathy for the document's basic views in the B.C. NDP, including endorsement from such party leaders as Dave Barrett, now NDP house leader, Gordon Dowding, Eileen Dailly, Alex MacDonald, Jim Lorimer — all party MLAs from the Vancouver area.

The symposium was widely representative of the active party membership in the Vancouver area and was organized on short notice.

The symposium was opened by Gordon Dowding, MLA for Burnaby-Edmonds. Speakers at the conference, notably Dowding, were highly critical of the control of the party by the leadership clique of the B.C. Federation of Labor. While these elements expressed support for the basic views in the Watkins manifesto, they called for a severance of the NDP's formal ties with the trade union movement. Criticism was particularly concentrated against the B.C. Federation of Labor.

Only two days before, the newly chosen NDP house leader levelled a broadside at the B.C. Federation of Labor leadership and said he would try to take the party away from its formal ties with labor. The Barrett centrist elements in the party are essentially opposed to the concept of a labor party. Their fear of bureaucratic domination by the leadership of the B.C. Federation of Labor blinds them to the real potential of the NDP.

Joyce Meissenheimer, a well known NDP figure in North Vancouver, effectively countered Dowding's arguments by calling for even deeper involvement by the party in such organizations of the working people as tenants' organizations, Native associations, farmers unions, and greater union affiliation. The problem, she pointed out, is to involve even more trade unionists in the party, and

only the unions can do this effectively.

This question of trade union-NDP relations absorbed much of the discussion because of Barrett's announced intentions.

The meeting, the first rank-and-file discussion of the Watkins manifesto in Vancouver, took place after a previous attempt to arrange a discussion. Nine days earlier, a meeting of some 40 NDPers in the same hall broke up over John Conway's attempt to witchhunt the discussion with a motion to exclude from the meeting all members of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. Conway's group — consisting of some 20 radicals based at Simon Fraser University — forced the meeting to adjourn when their attempts to finger certain NDP left wingers with an alleged LSA affiliation were foiled.

John Conway, now the 3rd vice-president of the B.C. NDP, has yet to learn a rather basic socialist lesson. Witchhunting, exclusionism and red-baiting are political methods of mindless bureaucrats — the substitution of organizational vendetta for genuine political debate and programmatic clarification on the left.

The September 28 ISC symposium bypassed such antics with an open-ended and genuine discussion of issues and problems confronting the party.

The members present opted for continued discussions on the manifesto and agreed to request Watkins to address a public meeting in Vancouver.

Gordon Dowding agreed to head up a continuation steering committee to organize a meeting for Watkins and further symposiums.

The growing interest in the *Independent Socialist Canada* document, coming out of the drastic election setback in B.C., promises to open up a new period of party growth, and socialist alternatives to the present leadership's reformism.

(R.C.)



# Ottawa NDP to field slate in civic elections

by Dave Porter

OTTAWA—The New Democratic Party will become the first political party to enter a slate of candidates in an Ottawa municipal election. A city-wide Civic Elections Campaign Committee has been set up by the Ottawa Area Council of the NDP with the aim of getting "the fullest possible slate of candidates" for the elections to be held on December 1.

As a first step the Council established four research committees to submit policy statements on education, social services, housing and

pollution. These reports will be presented for ratification at an Ottawa-wide public meeting of the NDP on October 21. This meeting will also make the final decision as to who will run on the NDP slate.

Several members of the Ottawa West constituency association, which met September 24, have already announced that they will seek NDP endorsement. These include Dr. Ralph Sutherland, a professor at the University of Ottawa and NDP candidate in Ottawa West for last year's

federal election, and Mrs. Evelyn Gigantes who are contesting aldermanic positions. Mrs. Joan Gawn, president of the constituency association, is contesting a seat on the Ottawa Public School Board.

The Ottawa League for Socialist Action has greeted this announcement with enthusiasm since this will be the first time that Ottawa working people have been offered a clear alternative to traditional big business control of civic politics. Several issues make it all the more imperative that the NDP present a full slate on December 1. The Trudeau government's decision to make drastic cuts in Civil Service staff will affect Ottawa more than any other city; the vast majority of the 25,000 to be dismissed over the next few months will be here. The housing crisis is reaching serious proportions in the Ottawa-Hull region. The appearance of several tenants associations over the summer and the number of public meetings and demonstrations indicate the degree of concern.

There has been no indication as yet, however, that the NDP intends to contest the mayoralty. They seem to be concentrating on aldermanic and school board positions. The LSA here feels that this would leave a big hole in the NDP slate; the scattered aldermanic campaigns must be tied together by an Ottawa-wide mayoralty campaign.

Hopefully by October 21 this situation will be corrected. In the event that it isn't the LSA is prepared to field a candidate of its own for the mayoralty.



Scene Change

# Assembly to fill in NDP civic slate

by John Riddell

A Toronto-wide popular assembly to nominate candidates to fill out the New Democratic Party's partial slate for the coming municipal elections has been launched by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. Posters across the city announce the assembly, to be held Oct. 9, appealing to all those now without representation in City Hall — tenants, student youth, women, ethnic minorities, all working people — to join in ensuring that the necessity for a labor administration in City Hall is clearly posed by a full labor slate for all civic positions.

The New Democratic Party's slate was launched by the determination of party and labor activists to win power in the December 1 civic election. Yet the Party's campaign now threatens to bog down as a no more than token effort to elect a few aldermen in select wards.

Having blocked moves to run a mayoralty candidate, the leaders of the NDP's civic campaign secured a decision at the Party's Toronto Area Council meeting Sept. 24 to endorse no candidates for the board of education. As we write, the Party has yet to field more than fourteen candidates for the twenty-two aldermanic positions. In the borough of Scarborough, the Party has fielded a full slate for aldermanic positions — only to leave the key positions, the mayoralty and the board of control, uncontested.

Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA, in announcing the assembly, explained: "We will propose a mayoralty candidate at the assembly, one who can pull together the campaigns across the city. But the assembly must go further towards filling all

the posts left vacant by the New Democratic Party, both on city council and on the school board."

The Young Socialists, co-sponsors of the assembly, have called on all the radical youth and student tendencies to join in presenting a common slate in the Board of Education elections.

The *Toronto Star* felt obliged Sept. 13 to give voice editorially to the widespread contempt for the present administration under the blunt headline, "Throw them out!" The developing municipal campaign in Toronto is already revealing the deep crisis of the existing City Hall machines and the great opportunities for the unrepresented to make a breakthrough into power.

Mayor Dennison's campaign for reelection has awakened no enthusiasm from partisans of the NDP and labor movement. Only such tested fighters for the vested business and real estate interests as Controller Allan Lamport and the *Toronto Telegram* have rushed to his support.

Any illusions that the Liberal party civic slate might meet the aspirations of the unrepresented citizens of Toronto received a rude jolt at the Liberal convention Sept. 23. The blatant back-room deals that imposed mayoralty candidate Stephen Clarkson on that convention revealed again the big business interests that control and manipulate this party.

Only the New Democratic Party slate provides a foundation for a new, labor administration in City Hall. The October 9 assembly aims to finish the job left incomplete by the NDP, and ensure every Toronto voter a full labor alternative for all civic posts.

# Launch defense for LIS leaders

If Justice Minister Rémi Paul hoped to destroy the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire (LIS) by laying criminal charges against its leaders, he has failed, Raymond Lemieux, president of the LIS, told the Socialist Forum in Montréal September 19.

Lemieux has been charged with three counts of sedition and three other charges in the aftermath of the demonstration September 10 in St-Léonard in defense of the French school system. Maximum penalty on one charge is life imprisonment. LIS vice-president Laurier Gravel and independentist leader Reggie Chartrand are also among the 40 persons facing criminal charges.

"Even if I were to disappear," Lemieux said, "our movement would continue its struggle."

About 70 people packed the hall on St. Catherine's Street to hear Lemieux present his case.

Lemieux told the forum he had nothing against the English or the Italians. He merely wants to ensure the survival of the French language and culture in North America.

"It is ridiculous," he said, "to see the language of the minority being thrust upon the majority. Nowhere else in the world would anyone allow a minority within their ranks to rule them."

On September 24, some 35 people from various organizations ranging from the Société Nationale Populaire to pacifists, the LIS, the Front de Libération Populaire and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière met and expressed its solidarity with the LIS and its opposition to the current campaign of repression.

The meeting laid plans to fight the Quebec government's bill to restructure the school system on Montreal Island. The bill comes before the National Assembly this month. It will destroy the autonomy of local boards like that in St-Léonard, and ensure continuing anglicization. "The law won't settle anything," Lemieux told a press conference September 23, "but it will extend the St-



**RAYMOND LEMIEUX** addresses Socialist Forum in Montreal.

Léonard problem throughout the city and make Montreal an English region in a French-speaking Quebec."

The LIS has now launched a public appeal for funds to aid the legal defense of its indicted members, and to help it continue its struggle against English schools in Quebec. Contributions should be sent to: LIS, CP 328, Succursale K, Montréal 427.

The LIS is undertaking a Quebec tour to rally support for its cause. In addition, Raymond Lemieux will be speaking at meetings in Hamilton, Waterloo and Toronto, including a meeting of the Vanguard Forum in Toronto.



# Must distinguish nationalism of oppressor and oppressed

*Lenin did more than any other Marxist theoretician to formulate the revolutionary socialist position on the national question in the twentieth century, the epoch of imperialism and colonial revolution. The following remarks are particularly noteworthy for the emphasis Lenin placed on bending over backwards, if necessary, to meet the demands of oppressed national minorities, as the only way to forge a solid unity between the working classes of both the oppressing and the oppressed nations.*

*The note was written in 1922 as part of Lenin's counterattack against Stalin's crude and brutal attempts to suppress the Georgians' demands for national autonomy. What Lenin says about respecting the demands of national minorities within the Russian workers state applies with even greater force to the situation of the Québécois in the Canadian capitalist state.*

In my writings on the national question I have already said that an abstract presentation of the question of nationalism is of no use at all. A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and that of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a big nation and that of a small nation.

In respect of the second kind of nationalism we, nationals of a big nation, have nearly always been guilty, in historic practise, of an infinite number of causes of violence; furthermore, we commit violence and insult an infinite number of times without noticing it . . .

That is why internationalism on the part of oppressors or "great" nations as they are called . . . must consist not only of the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up

for the inequality which obtains in actual practise. Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude to the national question, he is still essentially petty bourgeois in his point of view and is, therefore, sure to descend to the bourgeois point of view.

What is important to the proletariat? To the proletariat it is not only important, it is absolutely essential that he should be assured that the non-Russians place the greatest possible trust in the proletarian class struggle. What is needed to ensure this? Not merely formal equality. In one way or another, by one's attitude or by concessions, it is necessary to compensate the non-Russians for the lack of trust, suspicion and insults to which the government of the "dominant" nation has subjected them in the past.

. . . Nothing holds up the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity so much as national injustice; "offended" nationals are not sensitive to anything so much as to the feeling of equality and the violation of this sentiment, if only through negligence or as a joke — to the violation of that equality by their proletarian comrades. That is why in this case it is better to overdo rather than underdo concessions and leniency towards the national minorities. That is why, in this case, the fundamental interest of proletarian solidarity, and consequently of the proletarian class struggle, requires that we never adopt a formal attitude to the national question, but always take into account the specific attitude of the proletariat of the oppressed (or small) nation towards the oppressor (or great) nation.

December 31, 1922.

**Lenin**

*From V. I. Lenin: Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism, Moscow (no date), page 202.*

## Quebec - In Defence of unilingualism

### *Rightists lead foes of LIS*

by Richard Dumont

(from *Workers' Vanguard*, October 1969)

In bringing charges of sedition against the leaders of the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire (LIS), the movement for an all-French school system in Quebec, the Union Nationale government broadcast its determination to smash the French unilingualist movement.

It has the full support of the other major capitalist party. Liberal MLA Emilien Lafrance, a former minister in the Lesage government, expressed the sentiments of all the capitalist politicians as he donated \$25 to a fund seeking support for English schools. Lafrance dissociated himself "from the idiotic and fanatical action of this little clique of racists and anarchists, the Lemieux, Chartrands, and their allies" who are "transforming our little Quebec oasis into a second Cuba . . ."

The establishment's attack has found a curious echo in the Communist Party. In vicious articles which turn the facts upside down and stand reason on its head, the CP papers *Canadian Tribune* and *Combat* condemn the St-Léonard demonstration as "chauvinist," "ultra-nationalist," a "betrayal of Quebec's people," and accuse Raymond Lemieux and the LIS of "serving only the cause of reaction." *Combat's* account, which never gets beyond the level of simple stupidity, describes the supporters of a French school system as "hoodlums and vandals."

Neither paper mentions anywhere the serious criminal charges against the LIS leaders, nor the role of the cops in breaking up the demonstration. Instead, *Combat* has the police actually **aiding** the demonstrators, while the *Tribune* whitewashes the authorities with the scandalous claim that Lemieux provoked the cop attack, and the suggestion that the partisans of unilingualism are somehow "allies" of the government in its spreading campaign of attacks on the trade unions and democratic rights.

The CP journals completely distort the Quebec government's position on unilingualism. The *Tribune* article notes that the minister of education "has endorsed the decision of the (LIS-dominated) St. Leonard school board" making French the language of instruction — but neglects to add that the government was forced to do so only after its repeated attempts to overthrow the decision had failed in the face of mass demonstrations of public opinion favoring unilingualism. The Quebec government, like the Communist party, is an inveterate opponent of a French-only school system throughout Quebec.

*Combat* virtually pretends that the language crisis doesn't exist except as a creation of the government, while the *Tribune* acknowledges its existence — only to dismiss the problem with the suggestion that the Québécois demand that French be made the operational language in Quebec is the same "kind of deception" as the federal government's token recognition of French in English-speaking areas!

Neither article makes any attempt to enlighten us on the reasons for the Communist Party's hysterical opposition to unilingualism. The CP's position can be found, however, in its brief to a committee of the Quebec legislature earlier this year. It called for recognition of French as "the principal and general language in Quebec," but added:

"We are equally opposed to all forms of discrimination and of coercion, such as the policy of unilingualism . . . We consider as anti-democratic any effort to deprive parents of the right to have their children educated in the language of their choice."

Since the CP presumes to speak in the name of Marxism, the theory-of scientific socialism, it is worth examining what is wrong with this "democratic" position.

In the first place, it ignores the existing relationship of forces between the French and English languages in Quebec. The French are a majority in Quebec, but a minority in Canada as a whole, and a tiny minority in North America. They are an oppressed minority, with little political power and virtually no economic power, since most industry in Quebec is owned by American and Anglo-Canadian English-speaking capital.

You can learn a lot about a movement just by knowing who opposes it.

Take, for instance, the two leading opponents of the movement for a universal French school system in Quebec — Justice Minister Rémi Paul and Robert Beale, president of the St. Leonard English-speaking Parents Association.

Justice Minister Paul told a press conference September 17 that people who suggested he was a disciple of Adrien Arcand, Quebec's war-time fascist leader, were "poorly informed." He had never belonged to Arcand's National Unity party, Paul said, although during his election campaigns he had sometimes visited Arcand to give him his regards.

"And even if I had been (a member of his group), I would not be ashamed of it and I would have preferred him to other parties," Paul added. Arcand "was a great nationalist."

"A Fascist?" "Perhaps."

Like Rémi Paul, Robert Beale, too, is a "nationalist" of a somewhat different stripe than the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire. He has founded a new political group, CURE, which stands for Canadian Unity Rights and Equality.

Beale is keeping CURE on ice for the time being, while he puts his cards on the "law and order" candidate for the Quebec Liberal leadership, Claude Wagner. "He's a remarkable man," Beale says of Wagner. "I like the way he ran the justice department. I know people say things about him. But I'll tell you one thing, if faced with terrorism he would act immediately."

This fact, together with postwar developments such as a surge of industrialization and urbanization, the fall in the birth rate and a dramatic rise in immigration from non-French speaking countries, has meant a steady alarming decline in the status of the French language and culture.

By legalizing the use of the English language in Quebec, official bilingualism has absolved business from learning or using French — with the result that knowledge of a foreign language, English, has more and more for French Canadians become a necessary condition of employment.

Clearly, if ownership of the industries and resources of Quebec were to be vested in the hands of the vast majority, the French Canadians, through nationalization under a workers government, the threat to the French language and culture would cease to exist.



But it is no less true that the vast majority of the Québécois do not at present understand the necessity for such a transformation in class relations. Quebec does not even have a labor party.

The Québécois do, however, understand very well the dangers threatening the continued existence of the French language — the basis of their national identity and consciousness—and they are prepared to do whatever is necessary to protect it.

Some have met the problem by moving against the system at a vulnerable spot, in entering elections for the local school boards, which still have the power to determine the language of instruction. This happened first in St-Léonard, (*a Montreal suburb*—ed.) where the problem was sharply posed by a tremendous influx of immigrants demanding, and getting, English schools.

To oppose the St-Léonard action on the grounds that innocent victims, the immigrants, were thereby deprived of their acquired rights, is to place responsibility for the situation on those who have finally moved to defend their majority rights, rather than the real culprit — the Quebec government, which has failed even to legislate the most minimal protection of the French language.

Moreover, to get hung up on arguments about "minority" rights is to ignore the real relationship of forces in Quebec — the powerful domination of English capital, and the accompanying anglicization.

Because the struggle for a French Quebec is a struggle for the very survival of the French Canadian nation, it deserves the fullest support of every partisan of national self-determination. But the struggle for an all-French school system has proved to have further significance in its capacity to bring the Québécois to an understanding of the role of the French Canadian bourgeoisie and its government in Quebec as a tool of Canadian and U.S. monopoly capital.

To understand that role is to understand the necessity to change the system, to wrest control of the economy from the monopolies that alone benefit from the humiliation and subordination of the French language and nation in Quebec, the national homeland. That is why the capitalists oppose the unilingualists' demands.

The issue of a unilingual school system has proved also to be a major point of division between the left and right wings of the nationalist movement. The moderate petty-bourgeois forces around René Lévesque oppose unilingualism and fear its explosive implications.

The Communist party, by relegating the language question to the realm of "democratic" demands, ends up with a program that differs not at all from that of the bourgeois parties. Its key demand in St-Léonard — "that where ten percent of the parents in a school area request a school or classes where the principal language of education be English, that this right be granted" (*Tribune*) — is a carbon copy of the recommendations of the federal government's royal commission on bilingualism and biculturalism!

Tolerant toward the vested rights of the English minority, the CP shows a quite different face to the mass movement in defense of the long-suffering majority. For the CP, the oppressor nation becomes the oppressed. Anything goes in its venomous attack on the LIS, an attack that itself verges on English Canadian chauvinism or, in the case of its few French spokesmen, an Uncle Tom attitude.

The fight for French schools has taken Quebec's national struggle to a new plane. In opposing itself to

the inspiring, profoundly democratic struggle initiated in St-Léonard, the CP has once again confirmed its own irrelevance to the new generation of progressive youth.

(end)

# Anti-war protests escalate; next mobilization Nov. 15!

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# Why Montreal exploded

by Dick Fidler

"If France had its May revolt, Montreal had its October terror."

That's how one Montreal daily, *La Presse*, described its own reaction to the way the cops copped out. On Tuesday, October 7, Montreal's 3,800 police and 2,400 firemen, at wit's end over their failure to win back wage parity with Toronto, stopped work and headed for Paul Sauvé arena for a "study session."

By the time they went back to work early the next morning, 800 troops just back from "peacekeeping" duties in Cyprus, were patrolling the city's streets, together with 700 provincial police and 77 RCMP — and merchants in the English section of town were faced with an estimated two million dollars damage from looting and arson.

It was the first time the army had been called out in a Canadian city since the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

### Explosion

What happened in Montreal on October 7 was a social explosion resulting from the sudden release of collective frustrations. Above all, the frustration of the French Canadian youth, who are swarming onto the labor market from overcrowded schools and colleges to compete for jobs that are increasingly scarce or, where available, in English . . . in their national homeland, Quebec. Their growing revolt has been held in check only by the naked force of the state, in the first place its police.

On Oct. 7, that force temporarily vanished from the streets, and thousands of these youth took advantage of its absence to vent their anger on suitable targets — the Murray Hill taxi monopoly, Birk's, Eaton's, McGill University, radio stations, the expensive hotels, and many other examples or symbols of English Canadian capitalist repression. For the most part, French establishments were spared, with the notable exception of Mayor Jean Drapeau's swank new restaurant. (This was enough to make the protection of City Hall a top priority for the incoming soldiers.) What may have upset the establishment most was the looting of several gun stores.

### Police protest

Equally revealing, however, was the behavior of the police. Imagine the shock of the powers-that-be in Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa to discover these guardians of law and order — among the most sophisticated in North America in the tactics of harassing and breaking up popular protests — themselves protesting!

And what a protest! Eyewitness reports told of how all 17 police stations emptied "within minutes" once the call to gather at the Sauvé arena had gone out over the police radios. The streets around the



**TRUDEAU'S NEW ACTION ARMY?** Soldiers with fixed bayonets, specially trained in counter-insurgency tactics, stand guard at Montreal's city hall. Outbreak of violence during strike by police and firemen revealed depth of social discontent in Quebec. These troops from French-speaking Royal 22nd Regiment, the "Van Doos," are now being labelled "vendus" (sold out) by young Québécois.

arena were clogged with hundreds of police cars, while inside, thousands of cops — most still in uniforms, their guns at their sides — shouted invective at the city authorities and even threatened to march on city hall.

When panic-stricken authorities sent in the Quebec Provincial Police to restore

order, "Montreal's finest" emulated the tactics of the young radical demonstrators they've so often been used to suppress. Flying squads, encountering QPP cars, overturned them or commandeered them for their own use. Some provincials were beaten up. Using the radios of seven provincial police cars they had seized,

the Montreal cops succeeded in jamming radio communications for all the others.

The mayor must have been particularly galled by the policemen's most popular chant, one that he had heard hitherto only from leftist demonstrators: "Drapeau au poteau" — Drapeau to the stake.

(See page 2)

# French-only movement wins support of key Quebec unions

The 60,000-member Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) has voted to support demands to make French the only official language in Quebec.

The 300 delegates and members at the council's Oct. 7 meeting voted by a two to one majority to support unilingualism —

the second CNTU-affiliated body to do so in two weeks. The National Federation of Teachers adopted a similar position at its founding convention.

These resolutions will be submitted to the Oct. 19-21 meeting of the CNTU's confederal council, the highest body of the 225,000-member trade union.

The Montreal council rejected a motion from English hospital workers that French simply be made the official language of work in Quebec on the grounds that it aimed to continue the status quo, namely bilingualism, and thus would perpetuate the present threats to the existence of French as the Québécois national language.

Supporters of the motion favoring unilingualism noted that official French unilingualism, that is, in all public activities, would leave individuals free to speak the language of their choice.

Meanwhile, pro-unilingualist students at the University of Montreal have formed a student section of the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire, CALIS (Comité d'Action de la LIS).

The LIS itself has announced that 25 groups, including the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Quebec Trotskyist movement, have refused to testify before the government's Gendron commission of inquiry into language rights, on the grounds that it is simply a cover for the Union Nationale government and its plans to entrench the English school system by destroying the right of school boards to legislate French-only schooling.

In a statement on Oct. 1, Premier Jean-Jacques Bertrand rejected unilingualism out of hand. French, he said, would have to go on "living dangerously" in Quebec.

Of the 165 memoirs presented to the Gendron commission, which is examining particularly the situation of French as the language of work in Quebec, only 30 are from French organizations — which is not surprising, as most employers in Quebec are English-speaking.



**COP ATTACK BEGINS.** Clubs thrust forward, provincial police move in against St-Léonard demonstrators. Signs read No to English Schools, and The Right to Demonstrate is Part of Our Democratic Heritage.



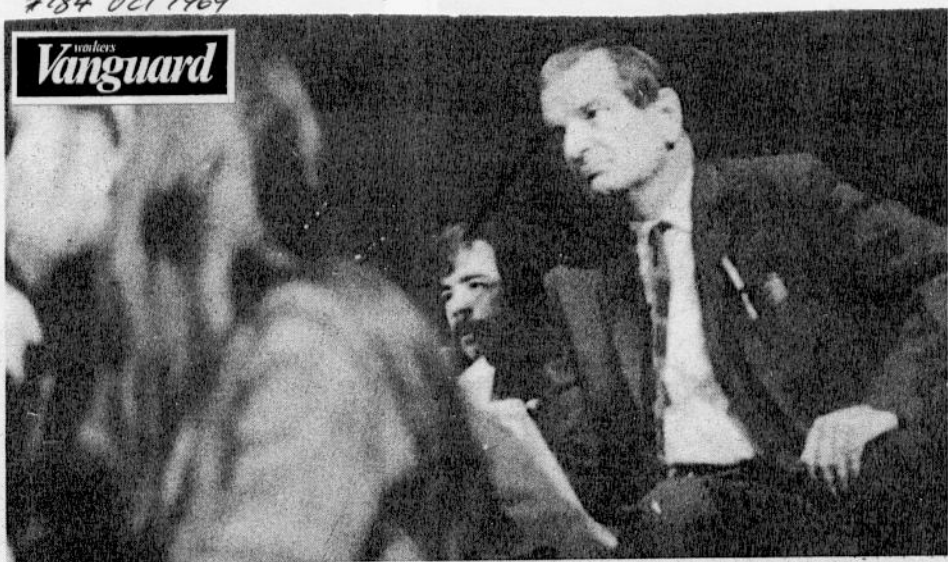


Photo Ken Wolfson

**CLAUDE BISSELL**, president of the University of Toronto, leaning forward, looks anxious as student leaders demand he renounce arbitrary proposals to discipline dissenters.

# U of T crisis defused; SAC accepts report

by Ken Wolfson

The crisis at the University of Toronto over disciplinary rules was suddenly cooled October 1 when the Students Administrative Council, under the political influence of the "revolutionary" New Left Caucus, accepted a report on disciplinary procedures that was backed by U of T president Claude Bissell. Earlier, the SAC had led a mass student protest against a report by the presidents of 14 Ontario universities which urged expulsion for campus "disruptions" and against the support of the report's principles by Caput, the U of T's disciplinary body.

The SAC and several left wing groups on campus had demanded Bissell dissociate himself from the presidents' report and retract the Caput statement. SAC had called a mass meeting for Oct. 1 to discuss further actions. Both SAC and the New Left Caucus were proposing a sit-in.

Bissell then released the Campbell report. The product of a joint study by faculty and student appointees, the report proposed an elaborate system of tribunals and mediating bodies but opposed election of key decision-making bodies. Bissell urged the university quickly adopt it. He announced that Caput, the old style disciplinary authority without student representation, had agreed to cede its powers immediately to a new body with equal student-faculty representation — but with no indication of how members were to be chosen.

The Young Socialists were the only group to speak against the report at the mass

meeting. Engineering student Hans Modlich and Arts student Ellie Kirzner pointed out that the report did not supersede existing disciplinary rules; that it did not define university autonomy but allowed the administration to call the cops on campus; and that it left final power in the hands of the non-elected highest governing body of the university. The Young Socialists proposed a campus referendum on student-faculty control of discipline and for student-faculty elections to an interim disciplinary committee.

The meeting was the largest ever held on campus; with over 2,000 in the hall and about a thousand more outside. It was packed by students from the engineering and professional faculties where professors had cancelled classes. These students formed a powerful cheering section for the administration. Faced with this opposition, the SAC leaders backed down and said the Campbell report had met their demands. The New Left Caucus confessed later that they were "afraid to speak" against the report.

The meeting adjourned with little discussion. But the Young Socialists continued their campaign for an elected disciplinary body the next day by holding a meeting in the engineering building to explain their position to the engineers.

The issue is not settled. With the first attempt by the university authorities to discipline a student the crisis will revive.

# LSA nominates Riddell

by Keith Locke

The League for Socialist Action's municipal election campaign in Toronto got off to a rousing start last week. At a meeting held on October 10 to fill out the labor slate in the December elections the LSA nominated John Riddell as its mayoralty candidate together with four aldermanic candidates. In addition the Young Socialists nominated six candidates for the Board of Education.

This is by far the biggest election effort ever launched by the LSA or YS in Canada. They decided to make this all-out effort to fill out the labor slate after the NDP, entering the Toronto aldermanic race for the first time, failed to nominate a full slate, and refused to run under its banner either a mayoralty candidate or Board of Education candidates.

The meeting accepted the mayoralty nomination of John Riddell, Toronto organizer of the LSA and, for the aldermanic seats, Joan Newbigging, an activist in the women's liberation movement, Richard Fidler, managing editor of the *Workers Vanguard*, Harry Stone, a printer, and Marlie Ritchie, an anti-war activist. For the Board of Education seats the meeting backed the nominations of Joe Young, Toronto organizer of the Young Socialists, and Jacque Hender-

son, editor of *Young Socialist Forum* and Ellie Kirzner, Joan Campana, Harry Kopyto, and Dennis Lomas.

The chairman of the meeting, Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO, welcomed the NDP entry into the aldermanic field and made it clear that the LSA candidates would be only too happy to withdraw from the race if a full slate of NDP candidates were nominated for their wards. He also indicated the League's support for those independent NDP candidates who have entered the Board of Education race.

In their speeches the candidates outlined the main issues of the campaign, which they indicated they would tie in with the municipal program of the NDP. Richard Fidler, a member of the executive of the Ontario Tenants Association, pointed out that rent took a larger chunk of the income of Toronto tenants than was the case for tenants anywhere else in North America, and emphasized the necessity of an extensive municipal low-cost public housing program. Joan Newbigging outlined the discrimination against women in this society and stated that the first measure introduced by a Toronto labor administration must be equal pay for women in City Hall itself.

Harry Stone explained how only a labor administration could take effective action against the businessmen who are drowning the city of Toronto in all forms of pollution.

The Young Socialist candidates attacked the undemocratic and anti-working class character of the Toronto education system and scored the fact that students were not at all represented on the Board of Education. They stated that they hoped to involve large numbers of high school students in their campaign.

The gathering also heard speeches from others in the city's radical and labor movement. George Addison, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee scored incumbent mayor Dennison for his record of vicious attacks on the anti-war movement, and stated his personal support for the LSA/YS campaign and his pleasure that opposition to the war in Vietnam would be a central plank in the campaign platform. Abie Weisfeld, an independent NDP candidate for the Board of Education, also spoke at the gathering, and supported the effort of the LSA and YS to fill out the labor slate.

For the first time the working people of Toronto have before them in a municipal campaign the alternative of a virtually complete labor slate made up of NDP, independent NDP, LSA and YS candidates. From the enthusiasm of the rally it appears that socialists in this city will be going all-out to present this alternative to the people of Toronto in the coming elections.



**JOHN RIDDELL**  
Socialist candidate for  
mayor of Toronto

*workers*  
**Vanguard**

#184 OCT. 1969

# Riddell debates Liberal MP on Quebec

by Keith Locke

Toronto mayoralty candidate John Riddell locked horns Oct. 4 with Liberal MP John Roberts at a high school teach-in on "Revolution and Response" in Bradford, Ontario. The topic of their debate, before an audience of over 100 high-schoolers from the outskirts of Toronto to Parry Sound, was the nationalist movement in Quebec, but it was not long before the acute questioning of the students brought the whole question of socialist revolution up for discussion.

In his initial presentation, Roberts described how Quebecers are aware of the challenge to their language and culture posed by the encroachment of English. He described the Quebec movement as middle-class in character, reflecting the desperate efforts of the declining French-Canadian middle class to adjust to a world of business whose language is English. "For them the question is not bilingualism at all, it's power," he said. Yet the only response he suggested was that of Trudeau's government: bilingualism of federal government services.

John Riddell showed how the national question affects not just the middle class, but the students, and above all the broad layers of workers in Quebec who suffer from language and national discrimination in its crudest forms. He pointed out how the Liberal MP, who was chairman of the house of commons committee on the Official Languages Bill, had himself shown the bankruptcy of Trudeau's program, which does nothing to aid the Québécois confronted by big business that speaks English and discriminates against French.

For the Québécois to become "masters in their own house" would mean their affirming their right to self-determination through establishing a workers government and taking over the monopolies that run the Quebec economy — in short, a socialist revolution. In doing so they would surely join hands with English Canadians faced with fundamentally the same problem — rule by capitalist monopolies.

In reply, the Liberal spokesman said he was all for a revolution — but not a

bloody revolution like that being prepared by Quebec's student extremists and terrorist bombers. The audience soon had both speakers involved in a heated exchange on the character of revolution.

"What's involved is a decision by the majority to take power into their own hands and fundamentally transform the social system," Riddell explained. "If the revolution takes a violent course it is only because of the dead-end resistance of the rulers of dead and out-moded capitalist society against the rising protests of the majority."

Roberts accused Riddell of irresponsibly minimizing the ominous threat posed by Quebec terrorism. "A recent study has proven that the number of infants on this continent killed by nuclear testing totals some 400,000," Riddell replied, "Where is the real source of violence in this society?"

There was no end to the questions and contributions from the audience, and by the end of the session the Young Socialists' literature table was nearly sold out.



# Tenants march for collective bargaining



photo by Stone

**RICHARD FIDLER.** Toronto aldermanic candidate was an organizer of Oct. 4 tenants' march.

8/Vanguard/October 20, 1969 #184



photo by Stone

**TENANTS' MARCH** on Queen's Park told the Robarts government that if it doesn't change its attitude to tenants, the tenants will change the government.

workers  
**Vanguard**



# Does union link help or hurt NDP?

VANCOUVER — NDP house leader Dave Barrett's attack on trade union affiliation to the NDP has sparked a wide-open debate and discussion in the ranks and top bodies of the party in British Columbia.

Most of the NDP caucus in the B.C. legislature would like to take their distance from organized labor. They see the NDP not as a labor party but as a broad progressive reform movement; a party which seeks to represent the "everyman" against the big power blocs that run our society.

This view was expressed most clearly by MLA Bob Williams in a recent debate with Alec MacDonald, his fellow MLA from Vancouver East. Their debate — MacDonald for the Independent Socialist Canada manifesto and Williams against it — was sponsored by the Vancouver-East NDP. According to Williams, the NDP should represent the "average guy" against the "new establishments" — not only big business, he said, but also the "big labor institution" and the big education establishment.

A similar confrontation occurred at the Sept. 28 B.C. NDP provincial council meeting. Dave Stupich, defeated NDP MLA, came down hard on the alliance of the Canadian Labor Congress and the CCF which resulted in the NDP's formation. Boasting of his original opposition to this development, Stupich demanded to know how he could go around asking people on fixed incomes to support the NDP when the labor movement was always out after 15 percent plus on wages.

Ray Haynes, secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor, and Wally Ross, NDP provincial secretary, presented the main case for affiliation.

The Council meeting took up a special 60 page report on the recent provincial election defeat. Much of the statistical data in the report, from a purely pragmatic point of view, clearly revealed the essential role played by organized labor in building support for the NDP. In most — almost all — of the ridings where the NDP gained new support or held onto its lead, the labor movement is well organized and actively supports the NDP . . . on the other hand, in most of the areas where the NDP lost support, the labor presence in the campaign was weak!

But the bare statistics only reflect something much deeper. The trade unions' affiliation to the NDP does not just provide the party with a regular source of funds, important as that is. It ensures the working



**Dave Barrett**  
NDP house leader

class base of the party. Those who object to NDP-labor ties on the grounds that the unions exert a conservatizing influence on party policy forget that this conservatism is strongest precisely in those unions which are not political, which lack the clear orientation toward independent labor political action that is represented in the NDP. Such unions are much more vulnerable to labor-management cooperation schemes and other capitalist maneuvers.

Because the NDP introduces independent class politics directly into the unions, it provides militants with a means of radicalizing the labor movement, and thereby counteracting the influence and control of bureaucratic conservative elements in the leadership. And there is every reason to believe that as the current wave of radicalization begins to stir the ranks of the unions, they will in turn come to serve as a radicalizing force within the NDP — to win it to a class struggle program.

The struggle to win the unions to the NDP is in itself a major process in winning working people away from the capitalist parties to voting NDP. But, as Ray Haynes asserted in the council meeting, the trade unions cannot guarantee their members' votes to the NDP; the party has to win them.

Haynes and other trade union figures assured the NDP that there would be more affiliations in the near future! (R.C.)

*Its potential ... and some problems*

# The struggle for women's liberation

by Joan Newbigging

On the weekend of Oct. 4-5 about 250 women met at a conference in Kingston, Ontario, to discuss women's liberation. Two women professors, recently fired by the administration at Simon Fraser University for their participation in the current strike, are leading study sessions on Women and Society. At the recent Miss Toronto beauty contest members of the New Feminists distributed a leaflet protesting the treatment of women as sex symbols rather than as human beings.

These are just a few examples of the radicalization that is taking place on the issue of women's liberation. This radical ferment has found its most concrete expression in the many women's liberation movements that have sprung up on and around campuses across the country. It was also expressed at the conference of NDPers which met in Toronto recently to discuss the Independent Socialist Canada manifesto.

Today hundreds of women across Canada consider themselves part of the women's liberation movement and thousands more are sympathetic to its aims.

## Radicalization

This radicalization is emerging at a time when it might be claimed that women have greater freedom and independence than ever before; when the labor market and higher education are opening up to them and when a broader radicalization is taking place in Canadian society; when the student revolt, the struggle of the Québécois and the black power movements are on the upsurge; when an atmosphere prevails that nothing is sacred, that everything is open to chal-

lenge. Benefiting from, and contributing to, this atmosphere of challenge, women are now free enough to demand more. The women's liberation struggle is part of this overall radicalization.

Women's liberation groups that have emerged as the concrete expression of this struggle are still largely in the process of defining themselves; of working out their aims, their program, their relationship to political organizations and to the community, and their attitude towards action. However, we can make some generalizations about the role they play in mobilizing women and in drawing them into struggle against the system, and about the problems they face and how we can try to come to grips with them.

## Common awareness

These groups cut across the isolation of women. Scattered in their homes, women tend to view the economic and psychological pressures they face as personal rather than social problems. By bringing women together on the basis of the injustices and discrimination they suffer at all levels of Canadian society, the women's liberation groups can build a collective awareness of a common problem and thereby draw women into struggle. As part of this process they help restore a new pride and dignity in womanhood and cut across the distorted image of femininity that is accepted today.

In addition they provide an invaluable forum for discussion and education on the question of woman's oppression. They provide the incentive for women to analyse their position in society, to investigate the roots of their oppression and to come to grips with its class basis. The numerous papers and articles that have been produced by the groups are testimony to this.

As well, these groups can mobilize women in actions which not only dramatize the discrimination they suffer and throw light on the nature and depth of this discrimination but can also win limited victories and thereby advance the movement qualitatively.

Most of the problems that these groups face spring from the fact that they are still a new phenomenon and are still in flux. Many problems will be resolved as the movements continue to grow in size and experience. Some, however, even now pose fundamental questions.

## Potential

By and large these groups were launched by women from around the campuses who recognized that their abilities and creativity were being stifled and would never develop to their full potential in a society which confines woman to the role of mother and homemaker. It is on this level that the vast

number of women are still attracted to them.

And yet potentially they can reach out to even greater numbers of women on the basis of the more direct discrimination they suffer: women confined to the clerical and service industries who receive miserable wages for alienating and exacting work; mothers imprisoned in the home 24 hours a day by the lack of day care centers; women workers who are denied an equal wage, promotions and permanent job standing because their present or potential family responsibilities make them "unreliable workers."

It is to the credit of many of the women's liberation groups that they recognize the necessity to reach into the community where possible and draw working women and housewives into the struggle. The challenge is that we must learn to relate to women on the issues that directly affect them — issues such as child care centers, equality at work, the chronic scarcity of re-training centers for women, etc. The danger is of antagonizing them by raising issues that are outside the framework of the experience of the mass of women.

This problem was raised in Toronto when a member of the Women's Liberation Movement spoke to women delegates at the recent convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. Rather than winning them to the movement by relating to immediate issues such as job discrimination, she alienated them by raising highly charged questions such as marriage and the family on a level outside of their experience.

The women's liberation groups have a vast constituency and we must be careful not to set up barriers that will inhibit the mass of women from becoming actively involved in the struggle.

## Society's responsibility

A further difficulty centers around the type of actions that the movement should engage in. Should the movement itself take on the responsibility of providing services such as birth control information centers, or should it demand that society provide these facilities?

This question is raised at the University of Toronto where a subgroup of the Womens Liberation Movement has assumed the responsibility of setting up and running a much needed child care center. But surely this is the task of the university administration — they have the resources and, above all, they have the social responsibility to provide such facilities for students, faculty and staff. It would be very valuable to carry a dramatic campaign on campus on this issue to educate students about women's



JOAN NEWBIGGING. Toronto aldermanic candidate is active in women's liberation movement.



P. 2

oppression with the aim of forcing the administration into taking some action.

In the women's liberation groups, we must beware of dead-end actions which exhaust the meager resources of the movement rather than educating it and propelling it forward in struggle.

Why not challenge candidates at election time to put forward their program for women at public meetings? If the city of Toronto administration, the largest employer in the entire community, were to grant equal pay to its women staff, what a mighty blow would be struck thereby for women's rights across Canada!

Why not demand courses on women's studies at the universities? Why not expose beauty contests? And why not, above all, expose the hypocrisy and doubletalk of the government which is responsible for the lack of child care, birth control and retraining facilities?

#### Women and the NDP

Demands for day care centers, a working wage for housewives, equal pay for equal work, etc. must find a political expression in the NDP, which is the present political vehicle for the only force that can and will transform capitalist society — the working class. It is through the NDP that the women's liberation movement can establish ties with working women and the trade unions and thereby achieve much-needed stability and direction.

True, the NDP has itself been the victim of male chauvinist prejudices that are so pervasive in capitalist society. Now, however, many women in the party are beginning to challenge the concept that women should play only a secondary role in politics.

At the recent Independent Socialist Canada conference in Toronto, a number of women NDP activists met to map out a plan of action. They propose to draw up a paper on the position of women today from which a concrete program of demands will flow, and to start combatting the discrimination against women that exists in the party.

Moreover, they plan to set up a women's caucus at the party convention in Winnipeg which will be open to all women members regardless of their political viewpoint, and to call on the party to employ a full time woman organizer to strengthen its work among women.

This development will be warmly greeted



**MEMBERS OF THE NEW FEMINISTS picketed Maclean's magazine offices earlier this year to protest male chauvinist articles about woman's "natural inferiority." They were joined by the editor's private secretary.**

by women NDPers across the country. But its significance extends beyond this because it can start to change the whole atmosphere within the party and awaken women radicals to the real possibilities and challenges that exist within the NDP — to the need to work within the NDP.

The women's liberation movement encompasses all women who are promoting the struggle for women's liberation, but it is

centered around the women's liberation groups. It is within these groups that we are facing the challenge of developing an awareness of this issue, of drawing Canadian women into struggle, of trying to meet the potential that lies before this movement. Women revolutionaries, NDPers and trade unionists have a vital role to play in this process. They must establish close ties with these groups.

## ***Its potential ...and some problems***

### **The struggle for women's liberation**

by Joan Newbigging  
(from *Workers' Vanguard*, October 1969)

On the weekend of October 4-5 about 250 women met at a conference in Kingston, Ontario, to discuss women's liberation. Two women professors, recently fired by the administration at Simon Fraser University for their participation in the current strike, are leading study sessions on Women and Society. At the recent Miss Toronto beauty contest members of the New Feminists distributed a leaflet protesting the treatment of women as sex symbols rather than as human beings.

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Photo caption – MEMBERS OF THE NEW FEMINISTS picketed Maclean's magazine offices earlier this year to protest male chauvinist articles about woman's "natural inferiority." They were joined by the editor's private secretary.

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## **Male supremacy: a rather recent invention**

**Book Review by Christine Farrell**

### **Review: PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION — A MARXIST APPROACH**

by Evelyn Reed *Merit Publishers, August 1969. 63 pages. \$1.15. Available from Vanguard Bookstores*

This new pamphlet is a collection of four essays which deal with various aspects of women's oppression and struggle for liberation.

Evelyn Reed, the author, has been a socialist most of her life and a participant in the struggle for women's liberation. She has attempted to demonstrate through her writings and activity that the injustice inflicted on women today and throughout class society cannot be separated from the exploitation of the working masses by the capitalist system, that women can only secure full freedom through a socialist revolution that frees all humanity.

Evelyn Reed believes that a tremendous task awaits the women of our revolutionary age. In making their present and future history, she states, women will have to reconstruct their past history.

Thus her first article, the text of a speech delivered to a forum of Students for a Democratic Society in Atlanta, Georgia last May, delves into the early history of humanity, in the time before class society. Her treatment relies on the work of the early pioneers of anthropology and the writings of Frederick Engels, particularly his book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

In primitive society, the means of production were communally owned and every member of the community was provided for on an equal basis with all others. Tribal society was self-governing and democratic – all members were equal, including women. There was no such thing as the dominance of one sex over another, just as there was no such thing as the domination of a wealthy ruling class over the working classes. The family as we know it did not exist. Tribal society consisted of a network of clans, each one composed of social brothers and sisters.

From a study of primitive society, we learn that prior to the existence of class institutions like private property, the State, and the nuclear family, the women occupied a very high position, enjoying great freedom and independence. This is in marked contrast to their subordination and degraded position throughout this period of class society.

By means of many interesting examples, Evelyn Reed demonstrates that it was the labor of women which in fact laid the material basis for the development of civilization.

The League for Socialist Action's brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women described woman's role in primitive society in similar terms. It noted:

“It was woman who invented agriculture, tool-making and architecture, who first domesticated animals; while primitive man, who spent prolonged periods on the hunt, was



isolated from the community. This period, which stretched over hundreds of thousands of years, came to an end, not due to any belated resurgence of an essential 'nature of women' but due due to the development of class society."

It was only with all the creation of new social divisions of labor, that men gradually took over woman's labor. Women were dispossessed from productive life and driven back to their biological function of maternity. "Understanding these facts of history," Evelyn Reed says, "is to explode the myth that women are naturally inferior to men."

The next two articles in her pamphlet deal with the problems that modern women face in their efforts to regain their rightful place in society. The first, *Sex Against Sex – or Class Against Class*, presents the Marxist approach in fighting male chauvinism in contrast to the strictly "feminist approach." The latter maintains that all women as a sex are in the same position and have identical interests and aims regardless of their economic position and social class. The Marxists, however, while recognizing that women suffer severe handicaps and humiliation in male-dominated society and "are fully entitled to organize themselves against such evils," assert that since women's oppression is rooted in the class structure of society it is therefore also necessary for women to fight for a socialist society where the economic basis for their liberation is guaranteed in the system.

Evelyn Reed believes that the substitution of sex hostility for class struggle is a dangerous diversion that can only aid the oppressors of women and the enemies of the socialist revolution.

Finally, there is a reprint of her analysis of the book *The Feminine Mystique*. While Evelyn Reed admires the perceptiveness and pointed description that Betty Friedan makes of the sickness of society and the role it has thrust on women, she feels that Friedan has failed in not providing any fundamental solutions that will attack the heart of the problem.

This pamphlet helps to expose some of the most fundamental myths about women that prevail in our society; in doing so it gives confidence to the new women radicals who seek to destroy these myths and the system that perpetuates them. It also provides the basic tools for furthering this study — it shows the method of analysis necessary in order to reconstruct the true history of women — the Marxist method.



League for  
Socialist Action  
&  
Young Socialists

# Toronto Election Campaign

1 Cumberland St.  
922-6665  
363-9618  
921-1637

## For Mayor

John Riddell

## Alderman

Ward 2  
Harry Stone  
Ward 5  
Joan Newbigging  
Ward 7  
Richard Fidler

## Board of Education

Ward 2  
Harry Kopyto  
Dennis Lomas  
Ward 3  
Ken Wolfson  
Ward 5  
Joan Campana  
Joe Young  
Ward 7  
Jacquie Henderson  
Ward 10  
Ellie Kirzner  
David Olson

Dear friend:

The League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists are fielding a candidate for mayor of the city of Toronto, three candidates for alderman, and eight candidates for the board of education.

We are doing so in order to present the challenge of a working class administration in city hall, and to make it possible to elect such an administration on December 1st. We are contesting posts left vacant by the NDP and thereby confronting the people of Toronto with an NDP-socialist slate encompassing all the major posts up for election. While endorsing the basic planks of the NDP municipal program, the LSA/YS candidates will advance the socialist viewpoint on the key issues confronting the voters.

The myth of non party municipal politics has been wearing thin in Toronto. For years various individuals contesting for civic office have been claiming to possess special skills or knowledge, and that only if they are elected can some of the key problems confronting us be solved. Whether these individuals are themselves suffering illusions or are consciously perpetrating a fraud, their line has served to cover over the fact that well-oiled Liberal and Tory political machines dominate the municipal arena as they do the provincial and federal arena. No matter what his abilities no individual can wrench city hall from the grasp of these political machines that maintain it as a tool of Big Business rule.

When this year's NDP Toronto area convention declared its intention to enter into the arena with a block of candidates under its banner it opened the way to transform city hall from an instrument of capitalist class rule into an instrument of the working class. Subsequently, however, it failed to carry this action through.

Naturally enough the NDP conference did not endorse incumbent Mayor Dennison who, while a card carrying member of the NDP, has publicly attacked party politics in municipal government and has a miserable record on all the vital issues confronting the working people. Regrettably the convention decided not to run a mayoralty candidate, to field no official candidates for the 22 Board of Education seats, and in some wards it is running only one instead of two candidates for aldermanic office.

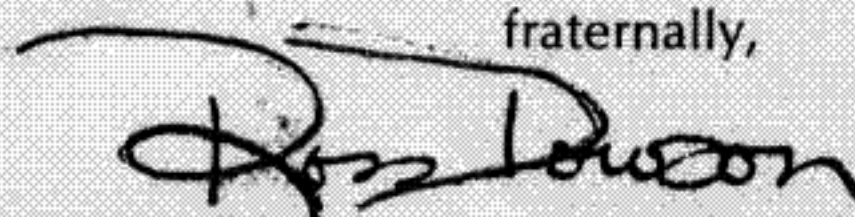
Without a mayoralty candidate the first serious action of the NDP into the municipal arena lacks a focal point. Without a city-wide mayoralty candidate NDP candidates for individual ward office are not linked together as a slate, as a team posing themselves as a realistic alternative to the present Liberal Tory administration.

We will be carrying a vigorous and aggressive campaign for an administration that will place its prestige and authority behind such vital forces as the anti-Vietnam war movement; we will demand a vast program of subsidized low rental and low priced housing; we will campaign for the elimination of fares on the publicly owned transit system, and for a city wide network of child care centers financed by City Hall, etc.

To get everything that is possible out of this campaign we need your help. We need to be informed of any opportunity for our candidates to speak. We would like the endorsement of NDP clubs, union locals and other publicly spirited organizations. We need financial aid. We need help to silk screen posters, to address mailings, to distribute leaflets, and to carry out the many other activities that go into making an effective campaign.

Phone us now to let us know what you can do. Come to our committee rooms at 1 Cumberland Street, first north of Bloor off Yonge. Please give this your immediate attention.

fraternally,



Ross Dowson



# HELP! HELP! HELP!

Less than two weeks to go before election day - so it's all out for the Socialist Campaign for the next ten days! It's three years since we've had a chance like this to move out with our ideas, so let's make sure we make the most of it! The coming two weeks present us with a unique opportunity to speak to thousands of Torontonians about the real problems confronting us and about the Socialist alternative.

BUT - in order to do this - We Need Your Help! The success of this campaign depends on YOU. We have mailings, silkscreenings, posterings, phonings and lots of leafleting to do. We will be holding work nights every evening except Wednesdays at the headquarters - 1 Cumberland Street - and all day on weekends. The headquarters will also be open all day during the week.

All our candidates will be speaking at campaign meetings. To find out about these, call the headquarters (922-6665 or 921-1637). We'll also be soap boxing at high schools across the city. This campaign is the most important thing that's hit Toronto this year. Make sure you're in on it.

We've already scored a number of successes with the campaign. In the last Campaigner we mentioned that John Riddell caused quite a furor in the Italian community with his speech to the Italian Businessmen's Association. As a result the Italian paper, La Carota, printed an article by John on the campaign, and some young Italians organized a meeting for John last Friday, which was a big success and drew out over thirty members of the Italian community. A meeting for mayoralty candidates at the Married Students Quarters at Charles and Yonge led to the headline in the Telegram, Trotskyist Steals Show at Mayoralty Meeting! During the Vietnam Moratorium several of our candidates spoke at protest meetings - York University, U of T, Centennial College and, of course, the rally at City Hall Square.

Here's a rough breakdown of what we'll be doing during the next ten days...so, come on over and pitch in!

Thursday, Nov. 20 - leafleting and posterings - evening

Friday, Nov. 21 - "Speak Out" at UTS (University of Toronto Schools) Bloor and Spadina - against publicly supported private "snob" schools (males only!)

Saturday, Nov. 22 - Posterings, leafleting - all day.

Sunday, Nov. 23 " "

Monday, Nov. 24 Mailings, posterings, leafleting etc.

Tuesday, Thursday, Friday - the same, only more so!

Saturday, November 29th - Campaign Wind-Up Rally at North Toronto Gardens.  
180 Eglinton Ave., West. More of this later.



HARRY STONE, a 23-year-old printer, is a member of the editorial board of the *Workers Vanguard*. Born in St. John's, Newfoundland, he has been an active unionist in the Steelworkers and Printing Pressman's union locals, and has worked in the High Park New Democratic Youth.



HARRY KOPYTO, 22, has participated in student politics as a socialist since he organized a struggle in his high school eight years ago to block a rise in the cafeteria price of milk. Now studying law at the University of Toronto, he ran as a Young Socialist candidate for president of the Students' Administrative Council last year.



DENNIS LOMAS was president of the University of Alberta Young Socialist Club last year and is now an editor of *Young Socialist Forum*. A student at York University, he was an organizer of the massive Vietnam moratorium teach-in there November 13-14.

## come & pitch in

This is *your* campaign, financed and carried solely by the efforts of working people, of students across the city. Come to our headquarters; lend a hand!

- ☐ I would like to help in the socialist campaign
- ☐ Enclosed is my donation to your campaign fund

Name.....

Address.....

Tel.....

Clip and mail to:  
1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5

## for a labor socialist city govt



vote  
**Riddell**  
for mayor  
— ward 2 —  
**Stone**  
alderman  
**Kopyto** board  
**Lomas** of  
edctn

Tenants, ratepayers, housewives, ethnic minorities and students are mobilizing — against high rents, inflated prices, pollution, racial discrimination and "redevelopment" schemes that ignore their needs.

The targets of this rising tide of protest are the hangers-on and hand-raisers for big business who infest city hall.

But this year, for the first time, the working people of Toronto have the possibility to elect a majority of labor representatives to city council — to kick big business and its parties, both open and concealed, out of city hall.

Heading up the labor-socialist alternative is John Riddell, the mayoralty candidate of the League for Socialist Action. For aldermen, there are the 16 candidates of the New Democratic Party and the three candidates of the LSA. For Board of Education there are a scattering of unofficial NDP candidates and the eight nominees of the Young Socialists.

### KICK OUT OF CITY HALL

Mayor Dennison told a recent campaign meeting that "we have to work with the private developers. We have to work within the confines of the system." His view is typical of the majority of incumbent council members who have a consistent record of total support for developers whose plans continually come in conflict with local residents.

Fed up with the arrogant, unyielding opposition they meet at city hall, citizens' groups have raised demands for consultation and direct representation in all decisions affecting them.

The big business candidates — themselves part and parcel of this structure — are giving lip service to this widespread popular distrust of unrepresentative city government, in order to divert its radical thrust. Margaret Campbell, the Tory mayoralty candidate, talks of funding ratepayers' groups to help them fight unpopular council decisions on planning and zoning; while Liberal Stephen Clarkson demands municipal ombudsmen — to protect the citizens against the decisions of their elected representatives!

But the real issue in this election is not whether people should be *consulted* before the politicians and their ilk make the decisions on behalf of big business. The issue is nothing less than *who shall hold the power at city hall* — the corporations or the working people.

None of the other mayoralty candidates opposes this big business system. Liberal or Tory — they are linked with the parties which have controlled city hall from behind the scenes for years, and today control the governments at Queen's Park and Ottawa. Mayor Dennison, who manages to hold memberships in both the NDP and the Orange Order, has become so compromised that the NDP civic convention could not endorse him.

### FOR A LABOR-SOCIALIST CITY

*Independent labor political action* — that was the challenge posed by the NDP when it broke through this phony concept of "non-partisan" big business politicking to field a slate of labor candidates under the party label, committed to a common program.

But the leaders of the NDP and of organized labor in this city failed to carry through the challenge by presenting a full slate for all offices, including the mayor's. Thus the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists have filled out the labor-socialist slate by nominating candidates for mayor, alderman and school board. In doing so, we have ensured that the working people of Toronto have the means to make working class power at city hall a reality in 1969.

## who is John Riddell

John Riddell has twelve years' active experience of participation in the labor and socialist movement. Now 27, he is full-time Toronto organizer of the League for Socialist Action. He is an elected member of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, which organized the November 15 march of 5,000 in Toronto against the Vietnam war. In 1968 he was an initiator of the first demonstration after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in support of the Czech struggle for socialist democracy.

In the early years of high school, Riddell joined the CCF (predecessor of the New Democratic Party) and helped organize the high school anti-cadet and anti-war movement. Graduating from the University of Toronto in 1965, he ran in 1966 for Board of Education in Ward 4 in a unique campaign carried by students, and centered on the need for student power in the schools.



# program of action as Toronto heads into the '70s

## FOR A HOUSING BREAKTHROUGH

Fifteen thousand families on the public housing waiting list! Three out of four applicants live in "substandard" housing. A fifth of Metro's families — over 100,000 — cannot afford the housing they require.

## FOR TENANTS' RIGHTS

Tenants today are at the mercy of arbitrary rent increases, discrimination and substandard maintenance by profit-hungry landlords, violating even the city's own minimal by-laws without penalty. Enforce the laws ensuring decent standards in all apartments! Legislation is needed to give tenants real power — to bargain collectively and where necessary to withhold their rents to secure their rights.

There is only one solution to the housing crisis — the city must break through with public housing, by building now the tens of thousands of new units we urgently need.

Housing for people, not profits! Kick private profiteers out of city redevelopment. Top quality public housing, planned for and with the neighborhoods involved, must be built with full provision for day nurseries, parks, child and adult recreation, shopping and service facilities, and with rents not more than 20% of income. Public housing for all who need it, managed and planned by its tenants, will set new standards of design and utility for the entire city.

## FREE PUBLIC TRANSIT!

Every increase in TTC fares cuts down the number using the TTC and further in-

creases traffic congestion. Over \$200 million is being poured into the Spadina Expressway which will only add to pollution, dislocation and traffic congestion and force the construction of . . . yet more ruinous expressways.

The answer is clear: free public transportation and accelerated construction of subways and other forms of public transit. Abolition of TTC fares need involve no extra overall cost — the city has in its files a specialist's report showing tremendous cost savings, not to speak of cutting down pollution, parking, traffic congestion, etc.

## ELECT THE POLICE COMMISSION

The brutal killing of Angelo Nobrega this year by a Toronto police officer showed once more the danger of an armed police force not controlled by the citizens. The police commission, now composed in majority of appointed members of the police and judiciary, must be placed under control of the public through direct election of its members; the police must be disarmed.

There are nearly 100 boards and commissions which run our city, filled with the hacks and hangers-on of the big business machine. It's time to totally reconstruct civic administration based on genuine representatives of Toronto's working people. A tiny beginning would be the election of the metro chairman.

## FOR WOMEN, ETHNIC MINORITIES

When a group of nursing aides at the city's Greenacres Home for the Aged won a provincial order granting them equal pay with male employees, Dennison, Campbell and company on the metro council went to court to preserve wage discrimination.

End all discrimination against women workers in pay, promotion and job classification, starting with the biggest employer, the municipality — by electing a labor administration!

The city has ample facilities in every ward, yet there are only eight civic day nurseries. Free public day care centers must be provided for all pre-school children.

Toronto's ethnic minorities must be able to receive civic services in their own language; today even job retraining programs are available in English only. Full-time English courses should be available without loss of income.

## TAXATION

While tenants and homeowners suffer an unbearable and rising tax burden, one-third of the city's assessment is tax exempt. Owners of the Colonnade get a rich tax deduction; exclusive island yacht clubs pay only 15% of market rates for their city-owned land; church property is not taxed at all.

Tax exemptions for non-residential properties must be ended. The burden of taxation must be transferred from residents to business and industry. A municipal capital gains tax is needed to eliminate the profit from land speculation.

## INSURANCE, MEDICARE - POLLUTION

Toronto must initiate now a municipal fire insurance program, not just for city property, but for our citizens who pay outrageous rates, or get no coverage at all from the insurance trusts.

Ontario's phony OHSIP medicare plan cheats us of millions every year. Toronto is large enough to start its own subsidized low-fee medicare program, operating under OHSIP, to fully meet our needs at lowest

cost.

Pollution standards must be strictly established and enforced. Owners of industries providing necessary services must meet these standards or be confiscated by the municipality — which will meet them. Consumers' Gas drive for profits has resulted in unsafe and expensive service. It must be placed under public ownership.

## VIETNAM, COST OF LIVING

The raging war in Vietnam constitutes a daily danger to our very lives. While millions in the U.S. demonstrate to bring the troops home, war expenditure and war production continue, providing the greatest single cause of price inflation.

Toronto's civic government, far from denouncing the war, which at any moment may escalate into a nuclear conflict and destroy us all, has smeared the anti-war movement and supported police denial of rights to its demonstrations.

A labor-socialist administration will take a stand against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and Ottawa's complicity in it.

## equal rights in Education

Of our most able students, it's largely those from upper class families who reach university. This was the conclusion of a recent study by the Ontario Department of University Affairs. Workers pay for the schools through property and sales taxes — yet their children suffer very real discrimination inside them.

The eight Board of Education candidates of the Young Socialists call for abolition of all fees for university and higher education, and living allowances for all students over 16.

The socialist candidates call for an end to streaming, which separates young women and students from working class or immigrant families into dead-end courses at an early age. They call for first class instruction and new schools in working class areas. Where a large proportion of students are Italian or members of other minority ethnic groups, they call for special classes in the minority language and literature.

The schools must be opened to free debate on the great issues of the day. The Young Socialist candidates stand for teach-ins on the Vietnam war in every school.

History courses glorify the rise of the British

Empire, the exploits of kings and generals. It's time to teach the truth about the contributions to history of the labor movement, of women, of all the world's peoples.

Religious discrimination in the schools must be ended by removing religious instruction and exercises from public schools, and blocking the proposed extension of public funds to separate high schools.

The chairman of Metro's Board of Education has admitted, "High schools are run like totalitarian states." Socialists stand for student-staff control of the schools! Students should have freedom of speech, of organization, and an uncensored student press.

The Board of Education must cease its anti-union policies and improve the quality of education by meeting the justified demands of teachers regarding smaller classes, better working conditions and decent salaries.

**Vote the League for  
Socialist Action/Young  
Socialists slate**

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# workers Vanguard

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November 3, 1969

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NDP leaders face  
left challenge

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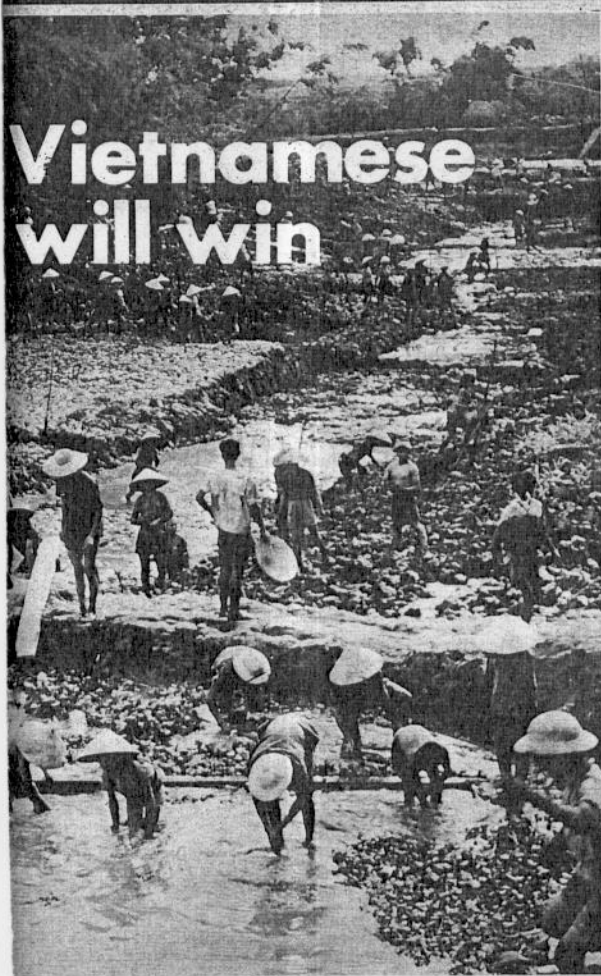
Quebec language  
struggle explodes

page 8

## Join the expanding ranks of protest against the war in Vietnam Nov. 13-15



### With the world protest



### Vietnamese will win

## We are majority says moratorium

by Carl Fleming

The massive outpouring of sentiment across the United States on October 15, demanding "Bring all the troops home now!" has led to a tremendous crisis for the war-makers in Washington. After Nixon's victory at the polls last fall, he asked for time to implement his "secret" plans for peace.

Due to divisions in the anti-war movement and confusion in the minds of many Americans, Nixon got that time. But it is apparent now that his time is up, and he must act to end the war now, or face an aroused public. The second stage of the Moratorium scheduled for November 13-14, the Student Strike on November 14, and the International Day of Protest called for November 15, are expected to be even larger than the first Moratorium actions.

Actions were held in practically every city and town in the U.S. Millions went into the streets on Oct. 15 to express their overwhelming opposition to the war. Even a number of U.S. Congressmen and Senators, who had previously supported the war, and voted to finance it, were drawn in to support and participate in the actions. There were demonstrations, campus teach-ins, meetings and rallies everywhere — 20,000 in Minneapolis, 11,000 in Austin, 25,000 in Madison, 20,000 in Philadelphia, 5,000 in Salt Lake City, 20,000 in Detroit, 15,000 in Chicago, 30,000 in Washington, 100,000 in New York City, 100,000 in Boston, etc.

Solidarity actions with the American Moratorium were held in many Canadian centers, including actions at McGill University, Trent University, University of Waterloo, Waterloo Lutheran University, Erindale College, York University and University of British Columbia. Demonstrations were held in Montreal, Ottawa, Waterloo

and Toronto with a surprisingly large turnout on short notice.

Nixon dismissed the anti-war movement in the most high-handed way:

"As far as this kind of activity is concerned," he said, "we expect it. However, under no circumstances will I be affected whatever by it."

Taking a lesson from the man from whom he inherited the war, Nixon urged the American people not to "buckle and run away," accusing his critics of wanting to "cut and run." It was only a year ago that LBJ was denouncing the "nervous nellys" who wanted to "tuck tail and run."

Nixon's response to the anti-war feeling in the United States is to attempt to sidetrack it through phony withdrawals of troops and a fraudulent "peace" posture. He would have the American people believe that the National Liberation Front has been defeated and is on the run, and that the forces of the corrupt puppet Saigon regime can now take over the war. The lie of this was bared at a press interview of President Thieu on Sept. 27, when he stated that he saw no prospect of the South Vietnam forces assuming the full burden of the war by the end of 1970. He added that his armies needed "more sophisticated weapons, like atomic warfare."

Secretary of Defense Laird topped it off by stating that a considerable force of U.S. "advisors" would have to remain in Vietnam indefinitely. A new and increasingly more important factor confronting the Pentagon is the widening disaffection among U.S. troops in Vietnam.

The memory of Johnson's fate is no doubt the driving force behind the sudden conversion of a number of liberal capitalist

(See page 7)



P.2

## ...are a majority

(continued from page 1)

politicians to the anti-war movement. The split in the ruling class has led to an even greater development of anti-war feeling. The split in the ruling class has led to an even greater development of anti-war feeling. The great debate now in the U.S. is no longer "Withdrawal vs. Escalation," but rather "Withdrawal — Now or Later."

These capitalist politicians, with their record of support for the war, now are trying to enter the anti-war movement and co-opt it to safer, more acceptable channels and demands. However, they will not accept the uncompromising demand "Withdraw all the U.S. troops now," which has been universally endorsed as the main slogan of the movement. The realization of this demand, which would undoubtedly mean a tremendous worldwide defeat for U.S. imperialism, cannot be co-opted.

The effective opposition to the Nixon-Johnson war program is not in Congress.

It is on the campuses and in the streets.

The Student Mobilization Committee is organizing a massive Student Strike for November 14. The New Mobilization Committee, a coalition of anti-war and radical organizations, is planning giant demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco for November 15.

Demonstrations around the world are being planned to coincide with the November protests.

There will be demonstrations in at least 10 Canadian cities on Nov. 15. The Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto has also called on students and teachers in high schools and universities across the country to turn over regular classes on November 13-14 to discussion and action against the war. All indications are that these actions will be the largest ever against the war and Canadian complicity, which means no peace for Nixon and Trudeau on the war issue.

Vanguard/November 3, 1969/7

# Trudeau rips off mask in anti-Quebec rage

by The Editors

Trudeau's vicious attacks on Quebec are clear evidence of the alarm among Canada's rulers over the growing social ferment and protest in Quebec.

The militant strike struggles — and the sensational social explosion of October 7 when Montreal police and firemen staged a one-day strike — have highlighted the revolutionary potential manifesting itself among the working masses. The mass actions for French as the language of instruction in the schools inevitably puts into question the domination of Quebec's business and industry by an arrogant handful of Anglo-American corporations.

Leading spokesmen for the Montreal, Quebec City and Ottawa governments have attempted to pin the blame for the unrest on "conspirators" and "extremists" who have "infiltrated" the governments' own institutions. The CYC is to be subjected to a witchhunt, the CBC is threatened with trusteeship, while the moderate and middle-class Parti Québécois is charged with being riddled with subversives.

Gone completely is the "progressive" image on which Trudeau campaigned for election. In place of the rhetoric of "participatory democracy" is the iron fist of a thoroughly reactionary government.

Gone are the fine words about free exchange of ideas. Trudeau has declared that ideas which do not promote "a strong and united Canada" will not be expressed on the CBC, and has threatened to put the defense minister in charge of the CBC French network.

The attack on the Company of Young Canadians is sheer hypocrisy. From the government's point of view, the CYC was a great success. It succeeded in using government money to lure a significant number of young people committed to social change into essentially harmless and meaningless projects posing no threat to the system — and in the process contributed mightily to the breakup of an independent radical youth movement, the Student Union for Peace Action.

If in Quebec this attempt did not succeed completely, that is a tribute to the higher degree of explosiveness in the situation, and not at all to the efforts of "outside agitators," "trained in foreign countries."

With this as a background, the tirade of Anthony Malcolm of the "Canada Committee" against the Quebec left is a page straight out of the McCarthy era. The hysteria of the bourgeoisie is revealed by the fact that his speech, which made no newsworthy revelations, was top news throughout their media, and by the fact that he spoke for a committee whose list of directors is a who's who of the Montreal big business elite.

CBC, CYC, PQ, FLQ — all are only stand-ins for the real target of governmental attacks — the growing movement for national and social liberation in Quebec. The verbal attack on the CYC was followed up with a brutal wave of some thirty raids in Montreal on the "citizens committees" which have emerged as a core of resistance to the Drapeau regime. The leaders of the massive movement for French instruction in schools are charged with sedition — punishable with up to life imprisonment.

But this hysteria of the capitalist class and their agents is proving powerless to turn back the mounting movement of the Québécois. The week of October 27-31 is seeing an explosion of popular protest against the anti-Quebec offensive of the ruling class centered on the demand for French language.

Behind the hysteria of Trudeau, Bertrand, Drapeau and co., lies their abject servility to Anglo-Canadian-American capital and its obviousness to rapidly increasing numbers from all layers of Quebec society.

The Quebecois are not sitting back passively before their attacks. Nor can the radical and labor movement in English Canada. The present crisis challenges everyone to respond in solidarity with the elementary demands of the Quebecois and in full and active solidarity with the mass protests now underway in Quebec.



# LSA nominates Ottawa mayor

David Porter is contesting the position of mayor of the capital city of Ottawa. The entry of the 23 year old organizer of the Ottawa League for Socialist Action has blocked the acclamation of a former city controller and provided all those who oppose the continued domination of city hall by big business and old line old party politicians, with a choice in the election of the highest position in civic office.

In a special leaflet distributed to their October 21 municipal politics meeting, the LSA challenged the NDP to head up their modest list

with a mayoralty candidate. It was upon their failure to do so that the LSA announced its decision to take on the responsibility.

Youthful David Porter has been a political activist for over 5 years, in the New Democratic Youth initially and in the anti-Vietnam war movement and the Young Socialists both in Edmonton and Ottawa. He has been employed as a child care worker for the past 2½ years.

The Ottawa campaign for a socialist mayor will be launched at a special meeting at the YMCA on October 31. The League campaign headquarters is located at 365½ Bank Street, Room 7, phone 232-1054 or 235-2141.



DAVID PORTER

## Socialists enter Sask. elections

A Committee for a Socialist Movement has entered a slate of five candidates in the Saskatoon municipal elections in the light of the failure of the NDP to contest the elections.

The CSM slate is composed of students active on the University of Saskatchewan campus. At least two of them, Karen Kopperud, running for collegiate board, and Howard Brown, running for alderman, are well known NDP activists, particularly in the Saskatoon city-park university constituency.

Last month's meeting of that constituency passed a strong motion condemning the NDP city leadership for not running in the November civic election as instructed by a majority vote of the membership this summer. It also endorsed in principle the document "For an independent Socialist Canada" and elected delegates for the Winnipeg NDP convention. Both Brown and Kopperud were elected.

## Fidler debates New Left over class politics

by Keith Locke

Richard Fidler, the Toronto League for Socialist Action's aldermanic candidate for Ward 7, took on one of his opponents, John Sewell, at a meeting last week. Sewell, a lawyer and community organizer, who is running a "people's" campaign in Ward 7, was addressing a meeting organized by the Students Administrative Council at the University of Toronto, who have donated \$300 to his campaign.

Fidler defended the NDP and LSA campaigns against Sewell's attack on party politics in municipal affairs. He ridiculed Sewell's position that social change can be brought about simply by decentralizing the municipal power structure, and accused him of being "either incredibly naive or some sort of a fraud."

According to Sewell, and many opportunists before him, the main

problem facing the electorate is one of a lack of communication between the people and their representatives. Sewell refused to offer any specific program which he would be committed to act on if elected.

Fidler vigorously condemned this approach, pointing out that an independent candidate, ignoring the basic conflict between the working class and the capitalist class, and without a program, is totally impotent in the face of the mess caused by big business control of Toronto. Only the labor slate of the NDP and LSA, which poses the possibility of a labor administration in city hall, has any hope of making any real change in the city.

It is unfortunate that some Toronto radicals, including some NDP members, have still not learned the basic lesson of the class nature of politics, and are working for the Sewell campaign.



Mayoralty candidate Riddell calls for

# Public housing & free fares

The League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists election campaign in Toronto is in high gear. The socialist campaign this year is headed towards being the strongest ever posed in Toronto civic elections.

The first campaign leaflet, now being circulated widely in the NDP and labor movement, explains the purpose of the campaign — to fill out the labor-socialist slate by posing socialist candidates for those posts left uncontested by the New Democratic Party's civic slate. Twelve candidates are in the running. The LSA has nominated John Riddell for Mayor and three aldermanic candidates; the YS has nominated eight candidates for Board of Education.

The campaign faced a formidable initial difficulty. All other mayoralty candidates, with or without political experience, backed by political parties or running totally on their own, received lavish attention from press and TV. The announcement of Riddell's candidacy was blacked out to such an extent that he has received no invitations to any of the meetings for mayoralty candidates that have been held so far.

Arriving uninvited at his first meeting, an angry gathering of 150 residents of Toronto's "Annex" region menaced by a planned expressway, he nonetheless received a warm welcome. All candidates present opposed the extension of the Spadina Expressway; Riddell alone proposed an alternative — accelerated construction of rapid transit and abolition of fares on the public transportation system.

The same evening Riddell was almost denied the right to speak at a meeting of the South Rosedale ratepayers, a gathering of residents of one of Toronto's most exclusive districts. Only members of the residents association were permitted to speak, he was told. And all three of the other

mayoralty candidates present, it turned out, live in the area and are members of the association!

Brutal symbolism — for there's no question that the stuffed shirts of such districts not only provide the candidates, but pull the strings of power at City Hall.

Riddell pointed out how the shocking contrast between the affluent homes of Rosedale and the housing crisis facing the bulk of the city's residents proved the total failure of the private market to provide housing in adequate quantity and at reasonable cost. He called for a massive program of government-subsidized low-rent public housing as the only answer to the crisis.

He declared it was "time to get rid of the spokesmen of private corporations and big business who are dominating City Hall" — a speech termed by one newspaper "the only jarring note" of a polite and low-key evening.

On Oct. 25, the mayoralty candidates spoke to a meeting of delegates from local ratepayers' groups. The discussion kept returning to the desire of residents' groups for some real power, some real control over the city government.

Riddell spoke of how disputes in civic politics reflect the real divisions in society between big business (and the city hall it controls) and the working people of Toronto. The NDP slate, he said, filled out with socialist candidates, posed the possibility of a civic government that would represent working people instead of combating their interests.

"You keep talking about all the constitutional and legal limits on the power of city government," he challenged the other candidates. "I learned a lot about politics helping to build the anti-war movement — how the U.S. movement to end the war, without any support in government on any level, has

built a mass movement and forced the resignation of Johnson, and may soon force U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. If a civic administration mobilized the working people behind its demands, with all the resources and authority it commands, no laws, no power in this country could stand in our path."

Loud applause! Symbolic of how Vietnam, like other revolutionary developments around the world has helped to raise concern among working people in Toronto from isolated grievances to a growing understanding of the role of big business interests attacking their needs. The response to the campaign so far holds out the promise of big gains for NDP and socialist candidates at the polls Dec. 1.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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- Sociology and Historical Materialism by George Novack
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HARRY STONE, Toronto aldermanic candidate.



JOAN NEWBIGGING, Toronto aldermanic candidate.



RICHARD FIDLER, Toronto aldermanic candidate.

# Young socialists forging ahead

by Jacque Henderson

The following article is adopted from the October-November issue of *Young Socialist Forum*.

Over 200 young socialists in Montreal Thanksgiving weekend attended a special session of the third bi-national YS/LJS convention. It was the finishing touch to a weekend that marked a big step forward for the socialist student movement in Canada.

The highlight of the final session was the address of Tariq Ali, internationally-known student leader, and member of the British section of the Fourth International World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

The theme of his eloquent speech was the necessity for student radicals to join the revolutionary socialist vanguard party.

The convention marked a big step forward for the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. For the majority of the participants it was their first convention, but the discussions showed they were not newcomers to the student movement. Many came directly from playing a leading role in campus struggles. The Ottawa delegates reported on their campaign for president and vice-president of the Carleton University student council. They were campaigning on a socialist program for the elections that were to take place right after the convention. Vancouver delegates reported on their involvement in the student-faculty strike taking place at Simon Fraser University and Toronto delegates related their experiences on University of Toronto and York University in opposition to the repressive Ontario Presidents' working paper on student discipline.

The convention took place symbolically in October, the anniversary of last year's school occupation movement in Quebec. This theme dominated the convention. It was the first truly bilingual convention of the YS/LJS complete with simultaneous translation, and the French-speaking LJSers who had joined out of the experiences of last October, played a key role in the discussions.

The convention marked the culmination of an intensive discussion period in the YS/LJS that had been taking place since midsummer. Ten discussion bulletins had been published including contributions on over two dozen topics. The convention agenda included four reports: a political report, an anti-war report, a Quebec report and an organizational report. In addition, panels were held on women's liberation, high schools, social-

ist education and recruitment, and finances. The three days were jam-packed with discussions, leaving only time for the necessary Saturday night party.

A high point of the convention was the adoption of the Quebec resolution as presented by Walter Blumenthal. This marked the first worked-out statement of the YS/LJS on the nature of Quebec society. The resolution states, "One cannot understand a thing about Quebec if one does not understand that it is a nation. Socialists recognize that nations have the right to self-determination. And Quebec is not just a nation, but a nation oppressed by imperialism, owned and ruled by a foreign bourgeoisie . . . The French Canadian nation was conquered and subjugated by British imperialism and incorporated into the Canadian state as a semi-colony, first of British imperialism, and now of English Canadian and U.S. imperialism, backed up by the power of the English Canadian bourgeoisie's federal government."

Jacque Henderson, executive secretary of the YS/LJS presented the Political Report, based on the political resolution drafted by the Central Executive Council. A minority report, based on a document entitled "Which Stage are We At?" was presented by LJSer Michel Mill.

The thesis of the political resolution was that the orientation of revolutionaries in the student movement should be to win more and more students to socialist conclusions by involving them in mass struggles around defensively-formulated demands that lead them to draw conclusions about the nature of this society and the necessity to change it. It states, "The revolutionary strategy for the university sees the solution to the crisis of the university in the socialist revolution. This is why we try to direct the attack of the student movement against its real enemy — the capitalist ruling class, and to attack the power of the ruling class over the university. We think the university and society at large should be run in the interests of the overwhelming majority of society — the working class. Thus we see that the purpose of the student movement must be to mobilize and educate the forces for socialism, and make the university an organizing center for socialism."

The minority report attributed the failure of the Canadian student unions to their attempt to organize around student questions. It questioned whether students could be organized as students since they are such a transitional and heterogeneous



YS/LJS CONVENTION PRESIDUM from left to right: Walter Blumenthal, Gary Porter, Carole Oleniuk, Denis Lambert, and Joe Young.

social grouping.

After an extensive discussion including over half of the delegates, the vote was taken and the Political Resolution was adopted.

The Organizational report presented by Joe Young, Toronto organizer of the Young Socialists, spoke of the growth of the YS/LJS and in particular the development of new locals in the Hamilton,

Waterloo, Guelph and Winnipeg areas. It projected a financial drive to expand the resources of the YS/LJS in line with the expanding opportunities. The drive, to begin immediately and run for two months, is to raise \$7,900. This money will help particularly in the financing of the papers *Young Socialist Forum* and *Jeune Garde*.

A resolution on Vietnam and the anti-war movement described the war as "the central focus of the world confrontation between socialism and imperialism." It said that "defense of the Vietnamese revolution stands as the paramount duty of every revolutionary today." The delegates resolved to help build massive protests November 14 and 15 in solidarity with

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the U.S. Student Strike Against the War and the International Day of Protest.

The convention also heard greetings from the American Young Socialist Alliance and from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the vanguard organization of the working class with which the YS/LJS is in political solidarity.

A cross country leadership, the Executive Council, was elected by the delegates. It met afterwards and elected its officers. Denis Lambert was elected Chairman, Jackie Henderson, Executive Secretary and Editor of *Young Socialist Forum*, and Léon Peillard and Walter Blumenthal co-editors of *Jeune Garde*.

The convention closed with an enthusiastic singing of the Internationale.



TARIQ ALI internationally known student leader addressing YS/LJS convention.

## Tariq Ali hails rally of YS/LJS

Tariq Ali, widely recognized as a leading figure in the British student movement and a member of the British Trotskyist organization, the International Marxist Group, recently completed a whirlwind tour of Canadian campuses.

It was the most successful tour yet organized by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. Tariq spoke to over 1000 students at meetings in Brandon and Winnipeg, 200 at Waterloo Lutheran, 350 at the University of Toronto, 100 at Glendon (York U.), and over 200 at the YS/LJS convention in Montreal.

At a very successful meeting at Carleton, Tariq demolished ultra-left Maoist opposition from some people in the audience.

In addition he spoke to separate meetings of Pakistani students on some campuses and held half a dozen TV and press interviews. Many socialist books and pamphlets were sold at the meetings — \$150 worth of literature in Winnipeg, for example.

Tariq Ali spoke of the impact of the colonial revolution on youth in Europe and the necessity of building the revolutionary socialist parties and groups organized in the Fourth International.

6/Vanguard/November 3, 1969

## Contact us

to know what socialists  
are doing in your area

**MONTREAL.** Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, Québec. 861-3018.

**OTTAWA.** League for Socialist Action, 365½ Bank St., Room 7, Ottawa 4, Ont. 234-2179 or 235-2141.

**TORONTO.** League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 189, Ont. 922-6665.

**RICHMOND HILL.** League for Socialist Action, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont. HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Box 4324, Station D, Hamilton, Ont. 529-9302.

**KITCHENER.** Workers Vanguard, Box 921, Kitchener, Ont.

**EDMONTON.** League for Socialist Action, 10402-97 St., Edmonton, Alta. 424-7644.

**VANCOUVER.** League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St., Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924.

**WINNIPEG.** Workers Vanguard, 272 Cockburn St., Suite 34, Winnipeg, Man. 284-3763.

**Pierre Vallières**

**&**

**Charles Gagnon**



# **Demand freedom now for Que. political prisoners**



**MONTREAL** — A march has been called here for Nov. 7 to demand the release of all political prisoners, resignation of Justice Minister Rémi Paul, and an end to rising political repression in Quebec.

The demonstration, called *Opération Libération*, is being organized by a front of groups seeking the immediate release of Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon, revolutionists who have been held in jail for three years.

The march will proceed from Lafontaine Park to the city courthouse. It will also back demands for French-only education in Quebec and rejection of any law which would provide legal guarantees for English schools on Montreal Island.

The Quebec Court of Appeal's unanimous ruling that Pierre Vallières was unjustly convicted of manslaughter is a complete vindication of those who have fought for years to defend Vallières, leader of the neo-FLQ, and his fellow revolutionist Charles Gagnon.

In a ruling handed down Sept. 24, the court found that Vallières, who had been sentenced 18 months ago to life imprisonment for the 1966 bomb slaying of a secretary at the strike-bound LaGrenade shoe

factory, was found guilty for his ideas and his writings, rather than actual participation in the crime alleged. Mr. Justice Miller Hyde said that after carefully considering Vallières claims there was no evidence on which to convict him and he should have been acquitted. The appeal court ordered a new trial.

The *Vanguard* was alone in English Canada in defending Vallières and attacking the trial as a travesty of justice. The court's ruling bears out the truth of the headline on our account of the case in the April 29, 1968 issue: *Sentenced for His Views*.

Robert Lemieux, lawyer for Vallières and Gagnon, has applied for bail for Vallières. He points out that Vallières has now spent more than three years in prison without being guilty of any crime whatsoever. He notes Vallières' personal history: one-time journalist at *La Presse* under the editorship of Gérard Pelletier, now State Secretary; general secretary of the Montreal Journalists Union; collaborator with Pelletier and Pierre Trudeau on the magazine *Cité Libre*, and appointed by them in 1964 as its co-director with Charles Gagnon. Vallières has written three books and contributed widely to many magazines, including

# Que. fights for language rights

MONTREAL, Oct. 25 — Tonight some 700 people representing an estimated 100 organizations launched the Front du Québec Français. Over the coming week the FQF will organize a whole series of cross-Quebec actions. The actions which will take the form of school strikes, mass marches, demonstrations and meetings will culminate in a mighty popular demonstration before the legislature in Quebec City in protest against the Union Nationale government's plans to jam through legislation designed to solidify the bilingual school system in Quebec.

Tonight's rally was representative of groups that range all the way from the right wing petty bourgeois nationalist St. Jean Baptiste Society, through the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire, to the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec Teachers Corporation, to the Ligue So-

cialiste Ouvrière, the Front de Liberation Populaire, and all major radical student groupings.

The struggle to defend French language rights, the right of school boards to legislate French as the language of instruction in the schools, will commence with teach-ins and study-ins in all four French speaking universities that amount to student-faculty strikes. The coming week will see demonstrations and marches in the streets and mass meetings in all major communities. The Quebec leadership of the CNTU and the Teachers Corporation will be holding emergency meetings over the weekend to plan mobilization of their members which promises to result in the most massive protest against the violation of their national rights that the Quebec people have yet demonstrated.



# NDP convention opens the way for a broad socialist formation

## workers Vanguard

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by Dick Fidler

WINNIPEG — The federal convention of the New Democratic Party, held here Oct. 28-31, was on all counts the most significant since the party was founded 8 years ago.

The positive developments included:  
— the appearance for the first time in the NDP of a broad left wing formation, supported by about one-third of the 1,100 delegates, which caucused several times during the convention and voted unanimously to establish a continuing left wing body to continue the fight to win the NDP to a

(See page 7)

## War in Vietnam is election issue

by John Riddell

Toronto mayoralty candidate

Do I hear ugly accusations that Toronto's civic government has failed to respond to the challenge of the present world crisis? Judge for your self. Only two weeks after the march of millions against the Vietnam war in the October 15th Moratorium, the Toronto Board of Control came through with a bold response.



John Riddell

It solemnly declared Toronto hence forth to be a "city of the world."

Swiftly moving into action, the self same meeting took a stand on what it considered the most important of world events. By unanimous vote, it decided on an official civic ceremony to mark Canada's participation in — the World Series! — by honouring Ron Taylor, a pitcher for the New York Mets.

Did someone out there mention Vietnam? That the mighty struggle of the Vietnamese against the world's most deadly military machine, and the great movement in Toronto and around the world to end the war might be of importance to the civic administration?

On the very day of the board's pompous

city-of-the-world declaration, it heard a delegation of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, asking it to defend the anti-war movement against the arbitrary and discriminatory ruling of the police commission, by sponsoring the VMC's application for a march down Toronto's main street.

"We don't have to listen to this bunch of anarchists," shouted Controller Lampert. "This has never been done before," chimed in Mayor Dennison. "We shouldn't take a stand on this." By unanimous vote, the VMC's request was refused.

No isolated incident! No civic office-holders attended last April's rally of 10,000 in Toronto. Mayor Dennison, the perennial marcher in the Orange Order parade who is so quick to identify himself with any worthy cause of Toronto's business establishment, has repeatedly slandered the anti-war movement as a gang of "publicity-seekers," out to "foment trouble between the government and its people." The Toronto City Council has refused the VMC the free access to Civic Square sound equipment which it routinely grants to approved functions, and its members have only slandered the VMC in its battle with the police commission's denial of

(See page 3)



MELVILLE WATKINS at the NDP Winnipeg convention.



MONTREAL STUDENTS marching to U of M sports center to protest Quebec government anglicization Bill 63

# What Riddell as mayor would do on Vietnam

(continued from page 1)

access to Toronto's main streets.

Vietnam shows, more clearly than any other issue, the deep contempt of our big business City Council for the needs of Toronto's working people. Civic spokesmen for the big business machine eloquently denounce inflation, and say not a word on its greatest single cause — the impact on the North American economy of the raging Vietnamese war. They speak piously of concern for our future, while Trudeau draws up plans for the possible shipping of Canadian troops to Vietnam. They spend days tortuously arranging the violation of zoning bylaws and city plans to clear the road for big business developers. And what will become of the great city they tell us Toronto is to be, as the war in Vietnam spreads — to Laos, to Thailand — and threatens at any moment, through a simple decision in Washington, to escalate into war of world nuclear destruction?

Mayoralty candidate Margaret Campbell, a "progressive" Tory, maintains discreet silence. Candidate Clarkson says not a word against the complicity of his Liberal bed-mates in Ottawa.

The ruling class of this country, which has made of Dennison a compliant tool, is neck-deep in the slaughter of Vietnam. U.S. aggression there has filled their coffers with war production profits, and more important, is

defending their own investments in countries around the world "menaced" by liberation movements. The big corporations have a firm grip on City Hall today, and none of their politicians step out of line on such a vital question.

What will I do if elected Mayor? What will a labor-socialist administration do about the Vietnam war? We will start by sweeping aside all the arbitrary regulations limiting the right of free speech, of assembly — the right to picket, march and rally. We will end the use of police against strikes or demonstrations.

We will take a stand on Vietnam — for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canadian complicity in the war. But more than that, we will give leadership to the protest movement of Toronto's citizens. We will replace the hollow "Remembrance Day" services with genuine protests against today's wars. Civic government will join the Vietnam Moratorium, declaring a civic day of protest, closing down civic offices, lending the authority of our offices by participating in the great parades, placing all civic facilities at the disposal of those manifesting their views on the war.

That is the challenge of the December 1 civic elections: vote in a labor-socialist administration, to lead the struggle against the war.

## Convention endorses Nov. 15 Viet protest

The NDP convention voted almost unanimously to support the November 15 International Day of Protest against the Vietnam war. The resolution called on "all federal and provincial constituency associations" to support the IDP "with particular emphasis on the following:

- "1) The discontinuation of shipment of all war materials to the USA;
- "2) The withdrawal of troops from Vietnam;
- "3) The right of self-determination as to their form of government by the Vietnamese people."

The resolution also condemned the Canadian government's "tacit support to the Saigon regime and the U.S. war effort through its sale of war materials to the U.S."



## November 1969 NDP convention opens way

by Dick Fidler

(from *Workers' Vanguard*, November 1969)

WINNIPEG — The federal convention of the New Democratic Party, held here Oct. 28-31. was on all counts the most significant since the party was founded 8 years ago.

The positive developments included the appearance for the first time in the NDP of a broad left wing formation, supported by about one-third of the 1,100 delegates, which caucused several times during the convention and voted unanimously to establish a continuing left wing body to continue the fight to win the NDP to a socialist program and leadership (including):

— a noticeable if rather modest shift to the left in party policy on many key questions, including greater emphasis on public ownership and nearly unanimous opposition to Canada's continued membership in NATO;

— the formation of a women's caucus which fought for greater representation of women in the party's federal council and, while unsuccessful, provided one of the convention's most lively and educational debates;

— reaffirmation of the NDP's base in the trade union movement, and provision for greater union representation in the party leadership.

On the negative side, the Winnipeg convention confirmed the NDP's weakness in Quebec, its almost complete isolation from and misunderstanding of the powerful nationalist and social upsurge among the six million Quèbécois nation.

The main feature of the convention was of course the confrontation between supporters of the document drafted by Melville Watkins and others, the manifesto *For an Independent, Socialist Canada* (known as the "Waffle" document), and the right wing of the party, including most of the leadership, which defended the party's existing liberal-reformist program.

When the *Independent, Socialist Canada Manifesto* first appeared during the summer, the NDP leadership had tried to dismiss it, with charges that it was outdated, doctrinaire, "anti-American" and even "Trotskyist." However, the document was widely publicized and debated in party ranks, and by the time the convention met in Winnipeg, over 25 riding associations and the New Democratic Youth had endorsed its principles; only one riding association had actually voted to reject it!

Faced with this challenge, the right wing came out on the eve of the convention with its reply to the Manifesto — a statement drafted by deputy parliamentary leader David Lewis with the suggestive title. *For a United, Independent Canada*. It was promptly dubbed the "Marshmallow" by Waffle supporters.

Any doubts about the extent of the political differences posed by the Watkins document were easily dispelled by the right wing statement. The latter is nothing more than a watered-down

repetition of liberal platitudes which never goes beyond the plane of simple nationalism. Under the guise of avoiding the "anti-Americanism" said to permeate the Waffle manifesto, the statement avoids making any analysis of U.S. imperialism. It does not call for breaking from the U.S. military alliance system.

While the Watkins manifesto clearly poses nationalization as the key instrument for smashing U.S. capitalist domination of the Canadian economy, the right wing statement barely mentions public ownership, and then only as one means among many others which, it is suggested, are equally useful.

The "Marshmallow" statement makes no attempt to recognize the progressive significance of Quebec's national ferment, let alone solidarize with it. It says nothing about extra-parliamentary action or industrial democracy — both prominent themes in the *Independent, Socialist Canada Manifesto*. A more revealing indication of the political bankruptcy of contemporary social democracy would be difficult to imagine.

The differences between partisans of the respective statements are even more obvious when you look at the five position papers produced by Watkins supporters. These papers, which were presented to the convention in the form of resolutions from riding associations, do much to fill in and improve on the radical concepts projected in the Manifesto.

A major concern of supporters of the Watkins manifesto was to ensure that their document got a fair hearing in the convention debates. The first two meetings of the left or "Waffle" caucus, including a session on the eve of the convention, were devoted largely to working out an acceptable format to debate the manifesto and avoid its being maneuvered off the floor and subjected to the "sausage machine" of the convention resolutions committee. The 200 or so delegates in the caucus reluctantly conceded to the right wing's proposal that it be debated in the form of a referral motion on the United, Independent Canada statement. This was the famous Thursday night televised debate.

The left's acceptance of this format for the debate was reluctant because such a confrontation between the two documents meant that delegates could only accept or reject one or the other, without being able to offer their own suggestions for amending the Watkins manifesto. Many of the supporters of the Watkins manifesto said they had differences with it — in particular, its "nationalism" and lack of class analysis were mentioned — and this widespread feeling was a prime consideration behind the proposal for continuing the discussion of the document after the convention.

As it happened, the task of defending the principal concepts of the *Independent, Socialist Canada Manifesto* as such at the convention necessarily excluded a serious discussion among the left over the specific approach and policies advanced in the manifesto.

The great debate, coming as it did near the end of the convention policy debates, covered little new ground. The right wing trotted out its leading spokesmen to denounce the Watkins manifesto — but their lack of any viable programmatic alternative rather limited their impact.



Federal leader T. C. Douglas, implicitly laying his leadership on the line over the outcome of the vote, red-baited the left with the thoroughly dishonest claim that it envisaged "taking over the farmer's farm" and nationalizing every small grocery store. Ontario provincial secretary John Hamey said he rejected the manifesto for the "single reason" that its sympathy for Québécois nationalism "infers that this nation should be divided into two." Such was the political level of the right wing's intervention.

One positive aspect of the debate was that it did produce a clear-cut confrontation of views. Gone completely was the right wing's previous claim that the differences were only "rhetorical."

Speaking for the left, Cy Gonick, a member of the Manitoba legislature and editor of *Canadian Dimension*, noted that "this is not a battle of words but of substance. It is a test of the direction the NDP will take in the period ahead." Capitalism has not solved its contradictions, he said, despite World War II, the Korean war and the Vietnam war which gave it a new lease on life. "We want socialism, and not capitalism such as we see under a Labor government in Britain today."

John Conway of B.C. appealed for the party to move to the left or become irrelevant to the growing number of radicalizing youth.

In the vote on referral, 35 percent of the delegates voted to endorse the substance and principles of the *Independent Socialist Canada Manifesto*. Although it was not recorded, well over a hundred delegates abstained, many of them from affiliated trade unions which had been expected to line up almost 100 percent behind the right wing.

This sizeable support for the left was reflected in a number of policy resolutions. With only half a dozen dissenting votes, the convention rejected a motion by Andrew Brewin, the party's foreign affairs critic in parliament, to support Canada's continued membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization until liquidation of the Warsaw Pact and negotiation of a "mutual security agreement," and that it exert pressure on Greece and Portugal to liberalize their dictatorial regimes. Even prominent spokesmen for the right opposed this motion, which represented NDP policy up to now. John Harney, for example, noted that NATO had been instrumental in overthrowing the Greek government and installing the military junta.

Earlier, delegates had voted for total withdrawal from NATO "and from the Anti-Bomber Defense System under NORAD." They voted overwhelmingly to delete a phrase in the draft resolution attempting to justify an "original need for NATO as a defense alliance against the cold war threat of aggression in Europe by the USSR." Delegate Stu Sinclair from Ontario challenged the cold war shibboleth that the USSR was inherently aggressive and laid the blame for the cold war on the western powers, beginning with the Potsdam and Yalta agreements dividing up Europe into spheres of influence.

When a Manitoba NDY delegate moved to replace a section stating that NATO had "failed to meet its primary objective, the preservation of freedom and democracy in Europe" with an alternative section to the effect that "NATO has not acted in the interests of freedom and democracy . . ." John Hamey intervened from the chair to warn

the delegates that if they adopted the amendment, they would be renouncing the pro-NATO position the party leadership had defended for the last 20 years.

The amendment nevertheless almost passed, and would have been put to a standing vote if Gerry Caplan, a prominent author of the Watkins manifesto, had not extricated the party leadership from its embarrassment by moving to substitute the words "stated primary objective" in the original motion. This was promptly accepted by the chairman, although his right to do so without putting the Caplan amendment to a vote was challenged from the floor. Apart from revealing how easily the left could be outmaneuvered on procedural questions, this instructive incident also showed that some left-wingers are not yet prepared to challenge the present party leadership's past record.

The convention also voted to condemn U.S. intervention in Vietnam as "a disastrous and dangerous act" (the 1967 convention had termed it "a tragic mistake"), and declared that "there can be no progress to peace in Southeast Asia until American troops are entirely withdrawn and the people of Vietnam permitted to choose their own government."

The convention voted that "Canada must provide positive support, moral, diplomatic, economic and material, to national liberation movements" in Africa. A similar policy toward "all national liberation movements fighting American imperialism in Latin America" passed in the panel on international affairs, but was defeated in plenary session on the recommendation of the resolutions committee.

The debate on foreign ownership saw the NDP policy move to the left, with greater emphasis on "expansion of public ownership" as the means to stop and reverse the growing U.S. domination of the economy. The resolution, adopted with only minor amendments, was based largely on the Watkins group's position paper. However, like other such compromise proposals from the resolutions committee, it eliminated the incisive terminology and watered down the more distinctly socialist analysis, particularly in the preamble, in favor of open-ended formulations which both right and left chose to interpret in their own ways.

Thus John Brewin, a notorious right winger and opponent of the Watkins manifesto, claimed to support the foreign ownership resolution because, he said, it presented public ownership as only one of a series of measures for Canadian independence; and Charles Taylor, leading "theoretician" for the right (he repudiated his signature on the Watkins manifesto at the convention) spoke in similar terms.

Delegate Regula Modlich of Rosedale, Toronto, was heavily applauded, however, when she denounced the "ambiguities" in the resolution and declared that the proposed Canada Development Corporation must not be designed "to give assistance to Canadian capitalists." And the radical mood of the delegates came through dearly when Canadian Labor Congress secretary-treasurer Bill Dodge condemned the resolution as "dangerous nonsense, injurious to the efforts (to attract foreign capital) being made in this very province (Manitoba)." When Dodge moved to substitute a watered-down version of the resolution originally proposed by the federal council he was criticized by Waffle supporter Giles Endicott as being "out of touch with the mainstream of the party." The motion to substitute was defeated by a sizeable majority.

Where the left organized and posed a clear alternative to the right — as in the debates on student power and community control of the universities, on Quebec, and on the representation, of women on federal council — the resulting debates were valuable educational experiences for the whole convention. When the left lost on such confrontations, as it nearly always did, it was a "glorious defeat," from which the left emerged with a new appreciation and understanding of the issues and its tasks.

But the left's floor strategy was in general poorly organized or not organized at all on most questions." In the Waffle caucus meetings, the problem of working out strategy for the manifesto debate tended to preempt the question of strategy in the panel debates on specific resolutions.

By agreeing to serve on the resolutions committee, a handful of Waffle representatives tried with some success to ensure that the committee, heavily dominated by the right, did not eliminate their ideas entirely in its composite resolutions. But, having reached compromise agreements in the committee, these same Wafflers then felt inhibited in raising their differences again on the convention floor.

What was needed was an effective floor strategy in which amendments and speakers could be agreed on in advance in the left caucus, to ensure a clear confrontation of views on the convention floor.

It might well be questioned who gained most from the Wafflers' participation in the resolutions committee — left or right? In any case, the committee would have felt under strong pressure to accommodate to the left in its proposals, since the right generally tried to tone down the differences in order to avoid being forced into defending its views. Where confrontation was unavoidable, as in the Manifestos debate, the right tried to have it on its own terms. For lack of a consistent strategy in convention debates, the left suffered passage of resolutions making inroads on what it had already gained in other resolutions. Thus resolutions on interest rates and inflation passed with no one proposing even the most essential measures — nationalization of the banks, and opening the books of the giant monopolies to reveal the source of inflationary profits.

A resolution on the envisaged Canada Development Corporation practically ignored public ownership and proposed instead massive subsidies to private capital. "An important aspect of the CDC," it stated, "is that it will insure the benefits of competitive forces where they are desirable, through yardstick operations and the stimulation of new firms." And, "the CDC may also enter into consortium arrangements with private concerns where it has or can acquire effective control." Here again only a very few delegates objected, and the motion passed overwhelmingly.

So also for a resolution specifically devoted to "public ownership," where an amendment by Nick Shugalo, Vancouver, to clearly spell out nationalization as a priority in socialist planning was defeated with almost no debate.

In effect, what happened was that so many resolutions on similar or overlapping subject matters hit the floor that the left as a whole was swamped. Where it chose to fight, it could sometimes win. But then another motion would be suddenly introduced and adopted which had the effect of negating the previous victory!



In a few cases the left itself was divided on policy. For example, when Shugalo moved to delete support for the United Nations and peacekeeping forces from the foreign policy resolution, some supporters of the left rose to echo the right in justifying the UN as some sort of instrument of peace — despite the powerful evidence that it is dominated completely by the United States. The amendments were defeated.

As the convention wore on over four days, the only consistent defense of the left position fell more and more to the relatively small number of delegates long identified with the socialist wing of the party and, in the past, the Socialist Caucus. In future conventions, the left will have to develop a more effective strategy for intervening in the floor debates.

Among other features of this convention was the debate on a motion, supported by B.C. house leader Dave Barrett, to end affiliation of trade unions. It was opposed by both left and right. Chris Trower of the Steelworkers Union, a left caucus supporter, pointed out the significance of the NDP as a labor party. "This party has roots in the labor movement that we fought for, for many years," he said. Charles Taylor noted that "if we support this motion we are telling the trade unions that Gompersism (*"business unionism" as traditionally practised especially in U.S. craft unions – ed.*) the answer for you as organizations." The motion received only a few votes

Another motion to give affiliated unions twelve seats on the federal council, apportioned among the twelve biggest unions, passed by a big majority after a similar lively debate.

end

# NDP left caucus plans conference next year

by Dick Fidler

WINNIPEG — A national conference of the socialist wing of the New Democratic Party will be held next year to work out a program and strategy for the continuing left within the party.

The conference, up to a week in length, will meet in either late spring or early fall. It will examine in detail the ideas expressed in the manifesto For an Independent Socialist Canada (the Watkins or "Waffle" Manifesto), as well as other documents to be submitted.

It is hoped that regional groups will be formed by manifesto supporters across the country "to study in a more theoretical sense the relationships found in the Watkins manifesto," in the words of a caucus spokesman. Anyone interested can submit position papers.

The pre-convention organ of the manifesto authors, the *Waffle Weekly*, may be expanded to provide a common means of communications for the NDP left. A nine-member "housekeeping committee" will organize the

1970 conference and maintain liaison with the left across the country.

These were the most important decisions to flow from the caucus of supporters of the "Waffle manifesto." The caucus met four times during the NDP convention, and its meetings attracted up to 250 delegates and observers — a high degree of participation when it is recalled that only 299 delegates voted for the document in the decisive Thursday night vote.

The "Waffle caucus," as it came to be called, mapped floor procedural strategy, drew up a list of candidates for the federal council elections, and settled a number of contentious questions. Its members intervened effectively in several convention debates; in particular the women played an outstanding role in the women's caucus.

But the caucus' main value was that it brought together the entire left at the convention, and provided a vehicle for working out proposals for post-convention activity.

Because convention procedures left no room for a debate within the left itself on the proposals of the Watkins group, there was a widely felt need to continue the discussion in some form after the convention. Thus the caucus' steering committee's proposal for a continuing left.

In presenting the proposal, Cy Gonick set the wider context and necessity for this development. "Social democratic governments," he said, "have everywhere been sabotaged by those who hold economic power. We can see it happening here in Manitoba." Thus "the left must seek power within the party before we hold electoral power, so that when we get power it has meaning."

The NDP is "the only vehicle" for mass left wing political action at this time, Gonick asserted. But to be effective, and avoid "the feeling of dissatisfaction and frustration" of suffering defeat in party conventions year after year, the left would have to organize on a permanent basis. He warned that the task of winning the NDP to socialism would be "a long march."

Another important move by the caucus was its decision to present candidates in the elections for the party's top body, the federal council. The original proposal to field a full slate for all positions from party president on down, was modified by its mover, John Conway, after discussion revealed general feeling that the left couldn't hope to pose a serious alternative leadership for the party at this convention.

The main issue here was whether to field a partial slate or no slate at all, with delegates from the New Democratic Youth leading the opponents of a partial slate. The editor of the NDY's *Confrontations*, Terry Campbell, explained his position on the grounds that the party would take advantage of a youth challenge to the present leadership by smashing what is left of the NDY. He was supported by Laurier Lapierre; former federal vice-president of the party.

This viewpoint was decisively rejected by the majority of delegates, who supported the view that any serious left must present a slate of candidates to make its presence felt and

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## DELEGATES at the NDP Winnipeg conventi

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provide a further measure of its support in the convention.

The caucus meeting finally decided to present two candidates for vice-president (five positions to be filled) and eight for members-at-large (of a total 20 seats open). The next day, Mel Watkins succeeded in breaking the right wing slate to become vice-president and a total of seven caucus supporters were elected to the council, including four who were not on the caucus slate.

On the last day of the convention, the Waffle caucus met once more to evaluate its work. There was general agreement with André Berman's assessment: "We accomplished what we set out to do. Now we must carry the fight forward. Some of us will be

beginning this task by taking these ideas we have defended here to the convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor which opens next week."

Cy Gonick was applauded when he noted that "we've passed some excellent resolutions, but those guys (the right wing) won't defend these resolutions. If these resolutions are going to be talked about, we will have to do the talking." David Lewis had been quoted in a local newspaper as saying we would fade away. "Let's make sure we prove him wrong."

Gerry Gallagher, president of local 183 of the Laborers' Union, Toronto, followed up with the challenge, we should aim for the leadership in '71.

And Mel Watkins, who requested and got "your mandate to sit on the party council as a representative of this group," reminded the delegates that we "must go beyond the manifesto," by deepening the analysis presented in it, and correcting its faults.

Several delegates emphasized the necessity for the left to overcome its lack of contact with organized labor.

The "housekeeping committee," elected by the caucus to handle its administrative affairs until the planned convention is composed of Mel Watkins, Jim Laxer, Cy Gonick, André Berman, Don Nicholls, Regula Modlich, Lorne Brown, John Swart, and Danny Drache.

workers

**Vanguard**

#186



## Huge protests shake Quebec (on Bill 63)

by Arthur Young

(from *Workers' Vanguard*, November 1969)

MONTREAL, Nov. 8 — Now that the militant street demonstrations have subsided, the Quebec government is proceeding to push its Bill 63 through the National Assembly. But the massive movement which developed in opposition to this governmental measure will not disappear easily. The outpouring of opposition from almost all quarters demonstrated that this bill is without question the most unpopular piece of legislation to be proposed by a Quebec government in recent times.

Growing numbers of Québécois are demanding a policy of official French unilingualism in the province. Through this measure they seek to combat the domination of the Quebec nation by foreign monopolies in a foreign tongue, English, and the consequent process of anglicization of the nation. But the government clings to the official policy of bilingualism, reflecting the interests of its capitalist backers.

In recent years this confrontation has centered about the school system. Last year, a notable victory for a French-only school system was won in the Montreal suburb of St- Leonard, where the unilingualist forces won the local school board elections. Under the strong pressure of the English-language minority, the government reacted and proposed Bill 85, which would have guaranteed in law the right to schools in either French or English, and thus decapitated the movement for a single system of French schools. A rapid public outcry against the bill combined with divisions in the cabinet forced the government to shelve the measure.

The government could not hope to use this stalling tactic for very long, however, and so this October it brought in Bill 63, which simply took up again the theme of the abandoned Bill 85. The introduction of the bill was met with a massive outpouring of opposition from almost all quarters of society, and mass demonstrations of a size unseen in Quebec since the conscription crisis of World War II. It is obvious that the movement for a unilingual system of French schools has gained mass public support in the last period.

The most spectacular manifestation of popular opposition was the series of street demonstrations which took place in Montreal and across the province. The first demonstration in Montreal, called on short notice, rallied some 10,000 people; subsequent demonstrations were larger; across the province, areas which had never seen mass demonstrations in the streets witnessed hundreds and thousands of persons marching. The entire protest movement converged on Quebec City October 31, for a mass march and rally in front of the Parliament. Over 40,000 took part.

It is difficult to describe the atmosphere in Montreal during those days. The streets were constantly filled with marchers. During the day, thousands of students would walk out of their schools, march on other schools to get them to walk out, and then set out across town in spontaneous, militant, and orderly demonstrations. Later on in the week, the

students undertook the door-to-door circulation of leaflets and petitions against the bill. Each evening, the day's activities would culminate in a mass demonstration or rally.

While the overwhelming bulk of the demonstrators were students, many of them from high school and quite young, there could be no mistaking the popular support they had. Throughout the province the protestors received an overwhelmingly favorable response from the population. The national unity against the bill can be most clearly seen in the composition of the Front du Québec Français, a loose front grouping all those opposed to the bill and demanding a French Quebec. The only layers not represented in the FQF were the English-speaking minority, the government, and the capitalist class. Initiated mainly by the petit-bourgeois Société St-Jean Baptiste, the Front came to include virtually the entire Quebec petty bourgeoisie, all Quebec French student associations, most of the socialist groups, and two of the three Quebec labor federations. Even religious groups like the Congregation of the Fathers of the Holy Sacrament, and others, like the Quebec Society of the Deaf, were moved to join the FQF!

The bourgeois parties were shaken. Both major parties supported the bill. In the ruling Union Nationale, four MNAs announced that they would not vote for the bill, while the Liberals suffered one defection.

One of the most significant aspects of the struggle was the involvement of the labor movement. This was an important departure from the normally narrow outlook of the labor brass. The Confederation of National Trade Unions, after some internal struggles, came out against the bill and for unilingualism. To the voice of this labor federation representing some 225,000 Quebec workers was added that of the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec, which represents 70,000 teachers in the province. The teachers unions have been known for their nationalist bent, but in this instance they went much further than they have in the past, cooperating with the students in protest actions, marches, and teach-ins against the bill. Two union representatives, one from the CNTU, and one from the CEQ, sit on the nine-man executive of the FQF.

The other union federation, the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC), refused to take an official stand. QFL president Louis Laberge declared that "this is a matter of more interest to pseudo-intellectuals than to workers." But two reporters of the *Montreal Star*, after interviewing numerous unionists, made the following observation on Oct. 31: "Top leaders of unions tend to support Bill 63. But from the staff down, it is impossible to find a single supporter of the same bill." Two of the largest QFL affiliates took official positions against the bill: the Steelworkers, through a declaration of their Quebec president, Jean Gérin-Lajoie, and the Quebec wing of CUPE.

The Confederal Council of the CSN obviously did not agree with Laberge's statement: at its meeting on Oct. 21, it came out for unilingualism. This council, the highest body of the CNTU between conventions, was presented with a broad survey conducted by the CNTU among 680 of the unions affiliated to it. The survey found that strong pressures on the job forced French workers to speak English, that these pressures were stronger in the larger companies, though they could also be felt in French-Canadian owned firms. The highest posts were held by the English, and the French were generally not promoted to these positions, even if they spoke English.

At the time of writing these lines, the struggle against the bill has considerably subsided. The massive student protests could not be maintained without reinforcements — and the working-class leadership did not rise to the challenge. The FQF is proceeding to organize some other actions against the bill, such as a popular referendum, but it is clear that this will not stop the bill's adoption. Undoubtedly the movement to defend the French language has suffered a momentary defeat. But the importance of the defeat should not be exaggerated. The most outstanding feature of the movement is its truly massive character, the unprecedented national front against official Quebec bilingualism. Further battles, of even wider scope, and leading to real victories, are inevitable.

Some important political conclusions should be drawn from this phase of the struggle. Firstly, that national consciousness in Quebec is growing rapidly, crystallizing around the determination to defend the French language through an official policy of unilingualism in Quebec. This will be the central issue in the coming national struggles. Secondly, the necessity of a labor party in Quebec could not be clearer. In the National Assembly there is not one representative of the working class, the overwhelming majority of the Quebec nation. As the storm of opposition to the bill rose to the point where it was clear that a large majority of Québécois was opposed to the measure, a bi-partisan majority tranquilly pushed the bill through to its adoption. Only a tiny splintered opposition composed of five members voted against it.

A word should be said about Lévesque's role. He opposed the bill, and the Parti Québécois will undoubtedly profit electorally from this. But the PQ differs not on the key aspects of the bill (it is opposed in principle to unilingualism) but rather it opposes it because the bill is too vague and does not go far enough. Lévesque studiously shunned all demonstrations and rallies against the bill, so as not to be labelled a "radical" or "agitator" by his parliamentary colleagues.

A third lesson is that the Quebec students are able to mobilize rapidly and in large numbers around such issues, but that they must adopt an orientation towards the workers, and seek to involve them in the struggle by all possible means. Otherwise the student protests will not be able to sustain themselves, let alone acquire the force necessary to win.

Finally, the essential action of the working class may not be so far off as some might think. The language question directly involves the worker. The union movement supported the struggle against Bill 63, even though inadequate leadership blocked it from the possibility of going all the way and winning the fight. These initial stirrings of the mighty battalions of labor are extremely significant.

"Ce n'est qu'un debut" shouted the demonstrators repeatedly these last weeks: "It's only a start!"



Called for general strike

# Trotskyists' role in Quebec actions

by Arthur Young

The Quebec Trotskyists actively intervened in the crisis which has just shaken Quebec. Present in the day-to-day struggle to develop the protest movement, they dynamically put forward the socialist, working-class solution to the national crisis. Most notably, as the fight against Bill 63 continued to mount, involving wider and wider forces, and almost all layers of Quebec society, the LSO issued a call for a general strike, wanting through this independent action of the working class to assure the victory of the struggle. More than 13,000 copies of the call were distributed, and it received good publicity in the daily press.

The call of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière read as follows:

"To all workers and students of Quebec: The National Assembly is throttling the Quebec nation! Launch a *general strike*. The government is attempting to adopt a law which will inevitably lead to the death of French in Quebec. This is a direct blow against the Quebec workers. There is not a single person in the National Assembly who represents the working class. Only mass action can defeat Bill 63. The student and popular protests are important, but insufficient. The necessary action at the present time is a *general strike* by all Québécois. We must strike the bosses directly, for they control the National Assembly. The union leaderships are in crisis. Follow the example of the provincial civil servants who declared their solidarity with the Friday rally in Quebec City. Organize, and walk out!"

All during the events, the LSO undertook to provide a socialist political perspective. It published a special issue of its newspaper, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, at the start of the protest movement. The response to this special issue was simply fantastic: in about a week the press run of 3,000 copies was sold out! Two of the articles in this issue dealt with the widespread opposition, and presented an analysis of the government's move and a program for the struggle. A third item reported on union opposition to the bill, and the importance of the fight for a French Quebec to the working class, and a fourth described the repression unleashed against the Bolivian revolutionaries.

The Trotskyists played an active part in the development of the protest movement. The LSO participated in the creation of the Front du Québec Français, and at the same time helped launch the "Coordinating Committee," a left-wing grouping of student militants and representatives of the various radical groups in the FQF. It was the "Coordinating Committee" which provided the leadership for the militant student wing of

the protests, and thus for the repeated mass demonstrations. Representatives of the LSO and also of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes played important roles in this committee. Among other things, they undertook the organization of the "service d'ordre" (marshalls) which succeeded in maintaining the unity of the massive demonstrations. In the Quebec context, where until recently every large demonstration ended with frustrated skirmishing with the cops and window-smashing sprees, this was no small achievement.

Early in the school year, members of the LJS took the initiative in setting up groups on their campuses aimed at participating in the fight for a French-only school system. These groups, similar to Vietnam committees in that they are single-issue, open to all, and action-oriented, were important in permitting a rapid mobilization of students against the bill.

A sharp contrast to the attitude of the LSO was provided by the two wings of the Stalinist movement. The Communist Party, pursuing its obdurate opposition to unilateralism, supported the Quebec government's bill! The CP declared, in the Oct. 31 issue of its journal, *Combat*, that "Bill 63 represents a step forward over all that has been done previously on this question." The Maoists were not far behind: "The workers know very well that this (language) question is only presented in order to divide the working class along racial lines . . ." declared the Oct. 27 issue of *Liberation*, published by the so-called "internationalists" Maoist grouplet.

Subsequent events vindicated the LSO general strike call, even if only negatively. Without mass working-class action the protest movement subsided — the bill will be passed. The general strike call received many favorable responses from rank-and-file workers. But no portion of the trade union leaderships took it up, and so it could not be translated into reality. Not even the left-wing Coordinating Committee could see the necessity for such a call.

This failure illustrates a central political problem in Quebec today. On the one hand, the nationalists, even those who consider themselves radical socialists, have yet to understand the class character of national oppression in Quebec, and the working-class dynamic of this question. On the other hand, the present leaderships of the organizations of the Quebec working class lack the most elementary concepts of independent class action going beyond simple economic demands. The vigorous LSO intervention during the crisis undoubtedly reached many militants grappling with these questions, and points the way forward for them.

## Labor leader up on sedition

Immediately following the announced intention of the Drapeau-Saulnier regime to pass a by-law against demonstrations and rallies in Montreal — a law so sweeping and reactionary that even federal justice minister Turner has queried its legality — came the scandalous arrest of Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

Chartrand has been charged with sedition — which on conviction carries a maximum penalty of 14 years. The charges arise out of events around the giant demonstration in Quebec City Oct. 29 against Bill 63.

# Young Socialists run for school board

by Jacquie Henderson

Let the students be heard on the Board of Education! That is the challenge of the Young Socialists' campaign for Toronto Board of Education.

The Young Socialists are running a unique campaign. The eight candidates and the campaign workers are all students and the campaign is largely directed at students, even though most don't have the vote because they are discriminated against.

The Young Socialists are running to fill the gap left by the New Democratic party's decision not to field candidates for Board of Education. Along with the League for Socialist Action's campaign for mayor and three aldermanic posts, and the NDP's campaign for the other aldermanic posts, the Young Socialists are presenting the challenge of a working class administration in city hall.

The YS campaign is for an end to big business control of the educational system. The campaign leaflet being distributed to high school and university students in the five wards being contested states:

"How many times have we heard from teachers . . . 'Just try talking back to an employer and see what happens'? The lack of democracy in the school trains us for the lack of democracy we will face at work. We think democracy should be more than a word in a textbook. We call for student and staff control of all aspects of education. . .

"The schools don't help us change the world because they are run in the interests

of those who want to maintain the present system. The school board acts to protect the interests that really control this society — the big monopoly corporations. We say that the schools should be run in the interests of the majority of the population — the working people. Our school system should be a center for social awareness and a base for social change. Kick big business off the Board of Education and out of city hall!"

The Young Socialists are taking their campaign directly to the students. They have written to all the high schools in the five wards asking that arrangements be made for them to address the students, but have received no reply. Where they are not allowed to speak in the schools, the candidates will soap box outside. Meetings are also being arranged on University of Toronto and at community colleges.

The candidates have announced that they will hold a demonstration at University of Toronto Schools, in protest against that institution's discriminatory character. UTS is an exclusive boys' school financed by public money through the university.

All the candidates are well qualified. Harry Kopyto, Ward 2, has participated in student politics as a socialist since he was 14 — eight years. Last year he ran as YS candidate for president of the University of Toronto Students' Administrative Council. Dennis Lomas, also Ward 2, was president of the University of Alberta Young Socialist Club last year, and is currently an active Young Socialist at York University. He is also an editorial board member of *Young Socialist Forum*.

Joan Campana, Ward 3, is the circulation manager of *YSF*, an active participant in the U of T Young Socialists and the Women's Liberation Group. Ken Wolfson, a graduate of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, is currently active in the YS at U of T where he now studies. Also an editorial board member of *YSF*, Ken is running in Ward 3.

Joe Young, the YS candidate in Ward 5, is known across Canada for his outstanding role in building the Canadian anti-war movement. He is the past executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee and is now the Toronto organizer of the Young Socialists. Now 22, he entered politics in his early high school years when he fought against cadet training in the schools.

Jacquie Henderson, Ward 7, is the execu-

tive secretary of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. She joined the New Democratic Party in 1961 at the age of 14 and has been an active socialist ever since. She is the editor of *YSF*.

Ellie Kirzner is well known by students on University of Toronto where she studies. She was a founding member of the U of T Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Last year she ran as a Young Socialist candidate for vice-president of the Student's Administrative Council. David Olson is a student at York University where he is a leading member of the YS club and an activist in the anti-war movement. David and Ellie are YS candidates in Ward 8.

At a November 10 meeting of the Brown Home and School Association, for Ward 5 and Ward 11 Board of Education candidates, Joe Young said; "Vietnam is an overriding issue in this campaign. The schools must teach the truth about U.S. aggression in Vietnam and Canada's complicity in this crime. I challenge all the Board of Education candidates here to come with me to the Board of Education meeting this Thursday and demand that they call a moratorium on 'business as usual' in the schools on Friday and turn them over to discussions on the war in Vietnam."

The other candidates failed to respond to Joe's challenge but the 50 people in attendance were quite interested in this point. Joe also put forward the YS campaign planks of student-staff control of the schools; the right to form political clubs freely in the schools; an end to arbitrary discipline and petty regulations; an end to religious discrimination by removing all religious exercises, no public funds for separate schools; and for women's liberation, ending the streaming of young women away from the maths and sciences, teaching the truth about women's role in history in the schools, and for free access to birth control information and devices.

The campaign meetings of the YS are just getting under way now. So far the candidates and campaigners have been involved in what they view as an important action of their campaign — helping to build the November 13-14 moratorium against the Vietnam war and the November 15 International Day of Protest.



# Porter defends Quebecois in Ottawa mayoralty bid

David Porter, the Ottawa LSA candidate for mayor, addressed a meeting of 500 students mainly from the Social Sciences faculty of the University of Ottawa. The meeting, a 2 hour strike-study session on Thursday, Oct. 29, was part of a series of actions in the Ottawa-Hull area against the Union Nationale's Bill 63 and in support of the unilingualist movement in Quebec.

Other actions included a demonstration and rally at the Hull City Hall in which 1500 students from the University of Ottawa and the Hull CEGEP participated, the sending of a large contingent to the massive demonstration on the Quebec legislature on Friday, and a solidarity rally at Carleton University organized by the Young Socialists and the New Left Caucus also on Friday morning.

Porter's address to the students was an explanation, a defense and a strong identity with the struggle for French language rights. His final remarks tied in the League's mayoralty campaign with the struggle. "We are running," he said, "because Ottawa, with a large French population, has one university which is English and another which is half English. The University of Ottawa must be made unilingual-French.

"We are running to build a movement that can throw Fogarty and his friends out of city hall, that can throw Bertrand out of the National Assembly, and Remi Paul with him, that can get Robarts and Trudeau and the rest of them out of power. A movement that can build a socialist society in the nation of the Québécois and in the nation of the English Canadians.

"The struggle against Bill 63 is part of that movement. Vive le Québec Français!" (applause).

12/Vanguard/November 17, 1969



DAVID PORTER, for mayor of Ottawa

\* \* \*

The League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists held solidarity actions right across English Canada on the same day as the massive demonstration at the Quebec legislature.

A flash action at UBC drew 200 students. Similar actions took place on campuses in Edmonton, Kitchener-Waterloo and Hamilton. In Toronto, action was initiated by the Young Socialists which drew in the U of T New Left Caucus. There was a campus action in the afternoon. In the evening there was a public rally at city hall square which climaxed with a march further downtown for a picketline and speeches at the federal McKenzie Building.

## Vietnam, public housing are issues in campaign

Big business political circles, in particular mayoralty candidate Councillor Ken Fogarty, have red-baited the socialist campaign and labelled it "non-serious," their standard cover-up for the fact they are unable and unwilling to present any program to meet fundamental issues.

Despite that, an article in the Nov. 1 *Ottawa Citizen* headlined Porter's demand that the mayor's salary be cut to \$6,000 a year so that the incumbent "understands the pressures facing the people of Ottawa."

The LSA program calls for opposition to the war in Vietnam, particularly to the complicity of the federal government, a massive, tenant-controlled public housing program, a French-unilingual University of Ottawa in a student-faculty controlled system, a no-fare transportation system with a subway, an elected board to control the police, women's rights and strong anti-pollution measures.



# FOTOS SECRETAS DE HUGO BLANCO



**HUGO BLANCO** in the prison fortress in Lima's harbor with Argentine Trotskyist **Eduardo Creus**. Photo was taken secretly and appeared in magazine **CARETAS**.

## **Mobilization of the peasants**

(Interview with Hugo Blanco in the prison fortress in Lima's harbor with Argentine Trotskyist Eduardo Cruces. The photo accompanying this article was taken secretly and appeared in magazine CARETAS)

*(from Workers' Vanguard, November 1969)*

**Hugo Blanco:** Throughout our history, peasant mobilizations in Peru have had one fundamental objective — **land**. That is still the case. This is why the revolutionary slogan "Land or Death!" sank into the marrow of the vanguard peasants.

The most recent mobilizations do not contradict this rule. In Cospan and Huancaya, the objective is clear — they are fighting to recover the land. In the case of Huanta, we know that underlying the student and democratic issues was the big problem— **land**. For years the peasants have seen their lands usurped by the boss ranchers of the area. Since the authorities were totally on the side of these ranchers, the demands of the peasants resulted in onslaughts of "legal" repression. The Ayacucho events, related to the student problem, were the straw that broke the camel's back. The peasantry exploded.

The previous agrarian reform law, associated with "popular cooperation," succeeded in braking the thrust of the peasants and in sowing illusions among them. But they were soon disillusioned and a new awakening began.

Now this reformist junta has decreed a new law, a law more advanced than the preceding one but which in essence is still a law involving buying and selling land.

It is possible that an attempt will actually be made to enforce this law because it is aimed not just at taking the steam out of the peasant movement. Reflecting the interests of the development-oriented bourgeois sectors, both national and foreign, this law seeks to create an internal market of small landowners, who would be consumers of industrial products, and likewise raise funds for capitalist industrial development. I repeat, because of the bourgeois interests involved, the government may try to implement this. Law.

But the junta's wishes are not enough to assure enforcement of the law. The boss ranchers have always blocked enforcement of any law curbing their absolute domination by buying off the officials. The bureaucracy, or the authorities and officials, are just as corrupt as they ever were. Bribes are on the order of the day.

The big industrial farming estates on the coast are one thing. They are a strong bulwark of the old oligarchy. And from these strongholds, as from a feudal castle, the oligarchy will fight to the death against any attempts to bring about capitalist development. Here the junta had a political interest in smashing this group as a reactionary sector and incorporating it into the development-oriented bourgeoisie (and in the process eliminating the influence among the workers in the area of the APRA [Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana—American People's Revolutionary Alliance — an old revolutionary nationalist party turned reactionary]).

The isolated ranchers in the mountains, however, are a different matter. They are boss in their localities; but on the national scale their weight is less than that of the sugar and cotton producers.

These ranchers will hardly oppose the law forcibly, still less resort to armed resistance. They will do what they have always done — bribe the authorities and functionaries to delay and divert the application of even this bourgeois law.

And the bureaucracy is the bureaucracy. That is, besides fulfilling its function of serving the exploiters — in this case, the development-oriented bourgeois sectors — it watches out for its own interests most of all. Thus, it will hardly turn down the bribes.

Moreover, the peasantry itself will oppose implementation of the law in many cases. It will almost always oppose the way in which it is implemented.

The most likely result of all these contradictions is that the law will be applied in an uneven, distorted, protracted, and quite bureaucratic way in the interior of the country.

Throughout this process there will be friction and bloody dashes. But make no mistake about it. The conflicts between the junta and the ranchers will not go beyond friction. Bloody clashes will not occur between them. A rancher would have to be pretty crazy not to give way in the end.

The struggles will be the same as they have always been. On the one side, the peasants will fight for their rights, for the land, against the abuses of the ranchers, and against the bias of the authorities. On the other, the repressive forces will fight for the exploiters, either the local ranchers or the exploiters as a whole, who are represented by the junta.

Up to this point, I have discussed the "spontaneous" tendencies. But there is another factor. There is the political vanguard, the revolutionists who go where the masses are, enter their "spontaneous" organizations, feel the pulse of their immediate and "spontaneous" aspirations, and participate in their "spontaneous" struggles.

From there, from 'the very center of the real, existing peasant movement and — with the heart of Tupac Amaru (The descendant of the Incas who led a rebellion against the Spanish rulers in the late eighteenth century — IP.) in our breasts and the blood of our martyrs flowing in our veins — we must orient the struggle, organize it, and direct it toward an agrarian revolution that will be part of a socialist revolution led by the proletariat.

FIR's [Frente de la Izquierda Revolucionaria - Revolutionary Left Front] fundamental slogans for the countryside remain the same — *Organize, Broaden, and Consolidate the Peasant Movement*.

As for the law itself, our principled position is firm. This law which treats the land as a



commodity to be bought and sold and which is turned over to the bureaucrats for enforcement is not what the FIR proposes. The Trotskyists have advocated and continue to advocate *"Land Yes, Payment No!"*

Committees elected by the peasants must carry out the agrarian reform. *That is what we advocated and practiced in La Convencion.*

Nonetheless, we have always respected and deferred to the will of the workers. If there are sectors of the peasantry that want to apply this bourgeois law, we will fight shoulder to shoulder with them for its enforcement, watching out to see that all the positive provisions are implemented, combating the negative aspects, and always stressing that only by mobilizing can the peasants guarantee enforcement of even this limited bourgeois law. We will always stress organizing, extending, and consolidating the peasant movement. We will always stress direct participation by the peasants in enforcing the law.

In La Convencion our active and militant position is clear—"Not a penny to the enemy! The land is ours; we won it by our struggle, by the blood of our martyrs, by the torture and prison terms our leaders have suffered!"

The land is already in our hands. The peasants have already carried out their land reform. What must be done is to defend it and extend it, not independently but in conjunction with the struggle of all the peasants and of the people in general.

There is another important aspect. Great expanses of land throughout Peru have been illegally seized from the peasant communities, even by bourgeois standards. The boss ranchers are trying to use the Agrarian Reform Law to avoid restoring these lands to their rightful owners. They are trying to get these lands "expropriated" so that they can collect "compensation" for them. In these cases, we must fight for pure and simple **return** of these lands.

Regarding the form of organizing the masses, we must be very flexible. We have always preferred peasant unions as the form of mass organization of the peasants. This form, up to now, has proved the most suited to the struggle. However, we must not make a fetish of peasant unions. If the peasants continue to respect their village communal organization and use it for their struggle, there is no reason why we should insist on their organizing themselves into a union. The struggle of village commune members in the central part of the country indicates such a case. In Ongoy, on the other hand, the combative force was a peasant association in opposition to the ossified communal organization.

Finally on the question of the "cooperatives" proposed by the law: if the peasants are organized democratically in unions, village communes, etc., we will fight to get these cooperatives into the hands of their organizations. Even if such organizations do not exist, we will fight to create them because their objectives are far-reaching, and running cooperatives is only one of them. But if the peasants have already gone on a mass scale into the cooperatives proposed by the government and have recognized them as their own organizations, we will fight within them to make them profoundly democratic and to extend their field of activity.

In short, the details and specific operating procedure can only be worked out through direct contact with reality. Any pretense of drawing up a detailed plan of work a priori is empty talk. The revolutionists who go into the countryside and join the peasant movement will, in the last analysis, be the ones to determine what is to be done. The form of struggle is dictated by the reality, and the reality of the countryside is in the countryside. This redundant remark is necessary because many imagine that this reality is behind a desk.

The latest agrarian reform law is easing the tension in the countryside, deferring for the time being the possibility for armed struggle. However, the contradictions have not disappeared and new ones are emerging. The development of these conflicts into armed struggle depends on the revolutionists getting into the center of the peasant movement.

The more rapidly the revolutionists incorporate themselves into the *present* movement, on the basis of its *present* organizations, its *present* level of consciousness, its *present* needs, and its *concrete, immediate* and acutely felt demands, the more they identify with them and share them, the more quickly they can raise this struggle consciously from this low level to armed struggle.

Even more so in armed struggle than in other aspects of the fight — since it represents a higher stage — only contact with reality can provide specific indications as to how this armed struggle is to be developed, what its organizational forms should be, etc. In the meantime, peasant defense brigades developing out of the peasant struggle itself, as we have outlined it, remain the perspective. More concrete details, a priori "plans" purporting to map out the road to victory, can be expected from the armchair revolutionists.

We Trotskyists must listen to the revolutionists who speak to us from the countryside, from within the peasant movement. It is their advice we will most respect. And this is all the more so because there is a plethora of armed-struggle quacks around, who are not even familiar with the countryside.

We know that the peasants will fight arms in hand for the revolution. But in Peru today the proletariat, the vanguard par excellence of the socialist revolution, is acquiring greater importance every day.

We have seen such important manifestations of the class struggle in the cities that we cannot even say flatly that the revolution in Peru will come from the countryside.

Each day the workers inspire more respect; and it may be that they will decide to assume from the beginning the vanguard role that history has assigned them.

*Students to the countryside.* My position is as follows on the debate in the universities over whether or not passage of the agrarian reform act is an occasion for the students going in a massive way to the countryside: I repeat my appeal to the students to make a mass turn toward the countryside. We must keep up our criticism of the agrarian reform but not stay in the cities to discuss it. He is a better revolutionist who goes into the countryside and promotes this reform, sincerely believing in it, than the one who stays on the campus and combats it from a

"doctrinaire" revolutionary position.

The revolutionary position on the agrarian reform must be defended *in action*.

The position of the FIR is clear in this regard. Students to the Countryside, Directed by Their Own Organizations!

### **On the party.**

It is in the course of all this work, precisely in its course, that the party organization must be built in the countryside with the best elements that come to the fore in the class struggle. This was what was left out in La Convencion; it was the basic deficiency from which everything else followed.

The "syndicalism" over which we criticized ourselves in regard to Chaupimayo did not consist in failing to raise the economic aspirations of the masses to a political level. This was done in a generally correct way. Our "syndicalism" consisted of not concretizing this political advance of the masses, and especially of the vanguard, in a political organization with Bolshevik discipline which would have best been able to consolidate this vanguard.

The unification of the revolutionary left will likewise be achieved in and through this work, as well as through work in the cities, principally among the proletariat. This work likewise must start from the present struggles of the workers. Thus, through a program of transitional demands, we will arrive at socialist revolution.

**Land or Death!**

**We Will Win!**

El Fronton Prison, August 20



# Intellectuals protest ban on Mandel

Dr. Salvador E. Luria of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), who has just been awarded the Nobel Prize in biochemistry, heads nine prominent initiators of a petition being circulated throughout the U.S. in academic and literary circles protesting the State Department's denial of a visa to the Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel.

Mandel, a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, and author of the widely-acclaimed *Marxist Economic Theory*, was scheduled to debate former ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif., October 18. He was forced to conduct the argument by tape and transatlantic telephone.

The petition is being circulated by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which is sponsoring, together with the Socialist Scholars Conference, a conference on "Agencies of Social Change: Toward a Revolutionary Strategy for Advanced Industrial Countries" in New York November 29. Mandel is on the conference's program.

Mandel has also been invited to speak in early December at six leading Eastern U.S. universities as well as to participate in an MIT-sponsored conference in Boston.

In addition to scoring the State department's blatant violation of academic freedom and the right to travel, the petition pointed out that the action was all the more arbitrary in that Mandel conducted a speaking tour in the U.S. and Canada September-October of last year.

In an important development, the October 28 issue of the influential *New York Times* blasted the decision to bar Mandel, labelling it "idiotic".

Under similar pressures bans were recently rescinded on other European radicals and on the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes.

Further protest actions are planned if the U.S. government does not promptly grant Mandel a visa.

## Arab revolutionists at Vanguard Forum

"The Palestinian revolutionaries know their struggles will be long and difficult, but they have the support of the whole Palestinian people, and are confident of victory and the liberation of their homeland."

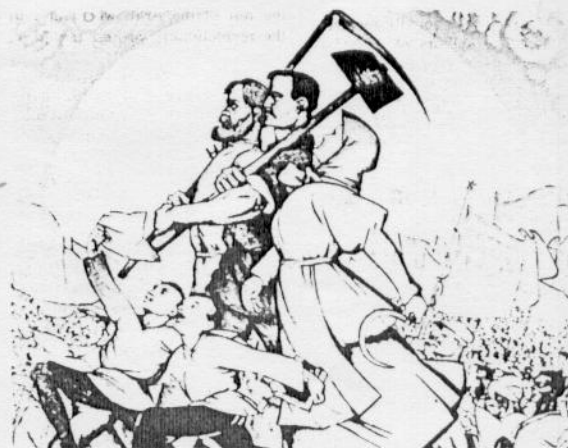
This was the theme of the address of a past president of the Canadian Arab Federation, special guest speaker at the Toronto Vanguard Forum Oct. 31.

The speaker discussed how the Palestinian revolutionaries, while seeing their struggle as of pan-Arabic scope, had established their independence of reactionary Arab governments. Al Fatah and the other revolutionary groups have a clearly defined and common goal, he said, to free Palestine from the rule of Zionism and to construct a new, secular and democratic state of all the Palestinian people, Hebrew and Arab, with equal rights for peoples of all religions.

Coming years will see large numbers of Jewish Israelis join this struggle, he predicted, for it aims to free them too from the rule of Zionist militarism. He mentioned as one portent of the future the work of Matzpen, the Israeli Socialist Organization, embracing Arab and Jewish militants within Israel.

Dr. George Haggard, the Arab socialist scholar deprived of his right to teach in Canadian universities, supplemented the speaker's remarks in the discussion period. "The Palestinian revolutionaries are asking themselves, 'If we win, and take the power, what then — what kind of society will we try to construct?'" he said. He showed that their movement has a clearly socialist direction, and an increasing understanding that their revolution must be socialist in character.

**Meet & Join those who are all-out  
in the fight against the Vietnam war  
- and committed to change this society**



**Join the League for Socialist Action  
& Young Socialists**

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, 861-3018. Université de Montréal, c/o Gilbert Rousseau. Sir George Williams U. Young Socialists, c/o Victor Raymond, 861-3018.

OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 365½ Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054. Carleton U. Young Socialists, c/o Students Council, Carleton.

TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 189, Ont. 922-6665. Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618. U. of T. Young Socialists, c/o Harry Kopyto. York U. Young Socialists, c/o Jim Chisholm, 221-8129. RICHMOND HILL. League for Socialist Action, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont. HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, Box 4324, Station D, 529-9302.

GUELPH. Guelph U. Young Socialists, c/o Betty-Jane Sinclair, Apt. 205, 105 Water St., 821-2367.

KITCHENER. Workers Vanguard, Box 921, Kitchener, Ont.

KITCHENER-WATERLOO. Young Socialists, c/o Laurel Stuart, 2 Clarence Pl., Kitchener.

LONDON. c/o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252. ST. CATHARINES. Young Socialists, 20 Erie St., St. Catharines.

KENORA. c/o Jim Boulton, Box 533, 548-4732.

WINNIPEG. Workers Vanguard, 272 Cockburn St., Suite 34, Winnipeg, Man., 452-8518.

SASKATOON. c/o Ullrich Fischer, 445-5th Ave. N. #24, 242-8175.

EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 10402 97th St., 424-7644. U. of A. Young Socialists, c/o Student Union Bldg.

VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 1208 Granville, 688-5924. SFU Young Socialists, c/o Carole Oleniuk, Student Society, SFU, Bby. 2, 688-5924. UBC Young Socialists, c/o AMS, 224-7578.

# NDP isolated from Quebec ferment

Dick Fidler

WINNIPEG — While the NDP convention met here last week, tens of thousands of Québécois youth were mobilizing across Quebec in defense of their language and against the Union Nationale government's bill legalizing English privileges in the school system.

These were among the biggest nationalist demonstrations ever seen in Quebec. But there was not a word of solidarity with the Quebec actions from the NDP convention platform. To all appearances, the NDP leadership was oblivious to the great progressive significance of the language struggle in French Canada. Worse than oblivious — opposed to it.

The NDP's complete isolation in and from Quebec was obvious in many ways — the very small number of French-speaking delegates — about 40 at most — and the much smaller number of French-speaking delegates who appeared at the microphones. Robert Cliche, who recently resigned as Quebec leader, was not present. And although Marcel Pepin, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, sent a subordinate to address the convention, his remarks were largely devoted to explaining the CNTU's concept of "non-partisan political action" which is known in less conservative quarters as How to Avoid Building a Labor Party in Quebec. Pepin's speech emphasized; "I am not here today as a partisan" of the NDP.

But the policy debate on Quebec above all revealed how far out of it the NDP is with respect to the social and national ferment in the other nation. The last two years have seen the Quebec struggle deepen and sharpen. But the resolutions committee pro-

posed only that "the New Democratic Party reaffirms the position it adopted on bilingualism and biculturalism and federal-provincial relations at the 1967 convention." This position doesn't even go so far as to recognize the existence of a French Canadian nation, let alone defend its right to self-determination.

A motion at the panel stage of debate by delegate Nic Shugalo of Vancouver to endorse the Waffle resolution on Quebec (submitted by Kingston NDP) was voted down. The Kingston resolution spoke of "two nations," supported the right of self-determination for Quebec, condemned "bilingualism as now practised" as "leading to the progressive weakening of the French language and culture in Quebec," and clearly posed the solution to French Canada's national oppression in the context of an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist program to free Quebec from domination by "American imperialism and its local government supporters in Canada."

Party vice-president Charles Taylor, among others, argued against this resolution on the grounds that it was allegedly telling Quebec what to do, "to separate." This, he said, was inconsistent with self-determination.

However, when the main resolution came up for debate in plenary session, Taylor and other leading spokesmen supported a motion to add a section calling on French Canadian socialists "to join with us to build a new Canada inside a federal union — a Canada in which we would guarantee by constitutional and governmental reform the survival of French language and culture."

"Constitutional and governmental reform!"

No French Canadian socialist worth the name could place his trust in that limited kind of "guarantee."

Shugalo pointed out that this referral itself violated the concept of self-determination, by calling on Quebec to remain within confederation on *our* (English-Canadian) terms. Socialists, he said, would tell French Canadians "we won't put any conditions on your struggle."

Replying to Shugalo, Taylor claimed that the NDP had the responsibility "to say (to Quebec) what things should be." "We're not negotiating a customs union," he declared.

Since most debate revolved around the referral motion, it never really got beyond discussing that old English Canadian chauvinist hangup, separatism. One party leader, Laurier Lapierre, did refer to the contemporary language issue. He condemned the struggle for French-only schools with the discredited outflank-them-from-the-left maneuver: "I am overwhelmed, angry beyond words, that people are using our students and young people in this stupid unilingual battle, when 70 percent of our people don't have adequate houses or clothing."

The motion to refer passed by a large majority. The debate revealed afresh how far the NDP has to go before it will come to grips with the reality of Quebec today.

In an interview after his election as associate NDP president, Roland Morin said the party would field some candidates in the next Quebec election.

But, ironically, while the party was moving progressively to the left on other issues, the '69 convention showed that on this key issue — the coming Quebec revolution — the party has, if anything, regressed still further.



December 20, 1969

To all branches and members at large

Dear Comrades;

The rapid development of the Palestinian liberation movement has made the defense of the Arab revolution a most important task for the LSA-LSO. The Mid-east crisis has become a key question for students coming to a revolutionary socialist position; Arab students are rapidly moving to the left and in the process becoming acquainted with our movement's position and work on this question, advanced elements among Jewish youth are coming to question Zionism as a solution to the Jewish question.

It is important that our work not remain confined with the routine framework of Vanguard and La Lutte articles and occasional forums. Comrade Kopyto's tour for the YS/LJS provides a valuable opportunity to move out on this question on a much more ambitious level. We must become the major force confronting Zionism on the campuses where there is the greatest ferment on the Mideast question. We can hold debates with Zionist spokesmen, and organize united front actions on specific issues as they arise.

United actions can lead to the formation of united defense committees, similar in function to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The attached report of the Toronto branch work in the area shows the possibilities and some of the problems in this area of work.

We must systematically develop our contact with the Arab militants. Our aim is not only to seek a collaboration with them in joint actions, but to convince them of our full program and begin to recruit them into our movement--the 4th International

comradely

R. Dowson



# Ontario labor, farmers unite, march for medicare Dec. 6

## workers *Vanguard*

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## Mass Vietnam protests

by Carl Fleming

More than one million people marched against the war in Vietnam in Washington and San Francisco on November 15 in the largest mass demonstrations in the history of the United States. The New Mobilization Committee, the sponsors of the demonstrations, estimated that 800,000 persons took part in the Washington march and rally, while another 250,000 staged a simultaneous demonstration in San Francisco. The central demand of this gigantic throng — as of the massive demonstrations everywhere around the world that day — was the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The size and militancy of the demonstrations showed that the criminal aggression carried on by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese revolution continues to be the key radicalizing and mobilizing issue in the world. Newsmen estimating the impact of the demonstrations took a dim view of Nixon's future. On November 15, wrote Tom Wicker of the *New York Times*, the president "could look across a country as divided as ever, ringing even more loudly with the shouts of the dissident and disenchanted, as bitterly torn as in the worst days of LBJ."

The Moratorium/Mobilization of Nov. 13-15 was observed in more than 20 Canadian cities. The greatest breakthrough was the organization of many campus actions against the war, mobilizing thousands of students in rallies, teach-ins and meetings. The tone was generally militant, indicating a new rise in antiwar feeling, particularly among the students.

More than 5,000 people marched in Toronto (See page 6)

### 'I spied for U.S.' -Cdn. ICC officer

The longstanding charge by antiwar activists that Canada has been using its position on the International Control Commission to spy for the United States has been confirmed by a Canadian military officer who served with the ICC in Vietnam.

Brig. Donald Ketcheson told a Nov. 14 dinner at the Royal Canadian Military Institute in Toronto that he had collaborated with the U.S. military and intelligence organizations. He charged that "the External Affairs Department . . . knew unofficially (that I talked with the CIA) and looked the other way." He was senior Canadian ICC officer in 1958-9, when the U.S. was laying the groundwork for its subsequent heavy involvement.

When CIA agents approached him, Brig. Ketcheson said, "I would tell the CIA what strength we knew to be there, but very often they chose to believe their own spies."

Questioned in the House by NDP member Andrew Brewin, External Affairs Minister (See page 6)



WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW! chanted record crowd of 5,000 in Vancouver's anti-Vietnam war protest on Nov. 15. Gary Porter of the LSA addresses rally.



VIETNAMESE SPOKESMEN Le Phuong (left) and Van Ba speaking at Winnipeg antiwar rally. At right is chairman Mitch Podolak.

### Citizens' Rally

to change  
Tory-Care  
to Medicare

Sat. Dec. 6  
Toronto

City Hall 9:30 am  
Queen's Park 11 am

auspices

Ont Fed'n of Labor  
Nat'l Farmers Union  
(Ont. region)

## Steel strikes ended by close votes

by Paul Kent

The Sudbury and Port Colborne Steelworkers' settlement with International Nickel, followed by Mine Mill Local 598's settlement with Falconbridge Mines, brought to a close the giant basic steel and northern Ontario hardrock miners' strike that broke out early in July and extended into the last week of November.

During its course some 14,000 Hamilton workers and 6,700 Sault Ste. Marie workers, along with 17,000 Steelworkers in Sudbury and Port Colborne, and 3,700 Mine Mill members in Sudbury, were locked in combat with the most powerful concentrations of corporate wealth in the country.

The workers closed down the two largest of the country's three basic steel operations and clamped the lid tight on two of the three major workings of the giant corporations that control some 60 percent of the West's nickel supplies.

Inco's and Falconbridge's holdout created a world crisis in the supply of the strategic metal. President Nixon broke into the stockpile that had been built up for the U.S. Mint and war contractors. The British government, which imports 90 percent of its supplies from these Canadian operations imposed controls over exports of nickel-bearing materials since July. This resulted in British industry paying a free market price of over \$18,000 a ton — roughly seven times the official producer price.

As costly as the struggle was for the strikers and their families it not only won immediate substantial gains for them but in the longer run for the entire working class from coast to coast. Local 1005's President Tipler presented the offer wrung out of Stelco to Hamilton workers late in October as the best ever negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America. Local 6500's President Homer Seguin presented the offer wrung out of Inco to Sudbury workers one month later as being ahead of the Stelco and Algoma settlements, and "the highest industrial settlement ever negotiated in North American history."

(See page 8)

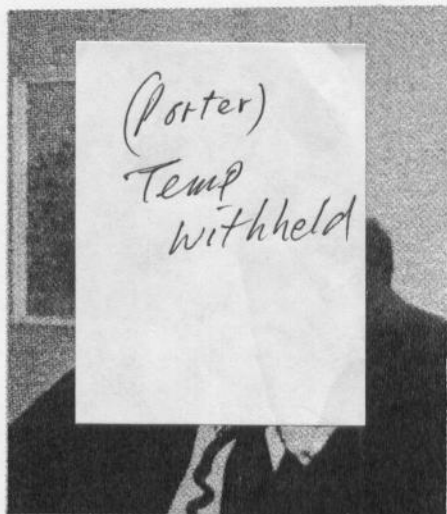
# Win or lose, we win, says Ottawa candidate Porter

OTTAWA, November 22 — The daily press here is doing its utmost to make the coming municipal elections appear as a no-contest fight. The *Citizen* headlined its report on the November 17 nomination meeting "Fogarty a Shoo-In," declaring that the opponents of the big business candidate for the mayoralty were all non-serious. The meaning of this claim was graphically illustrated by the remarks of Alderman Charles St. Germain, who declared that if he had \$40,000, he would run for mayor. No one but Fogarty had this amount available to him.

Despite this handicap, David Porter, candidate of the League for Socialist Action, is receiving considerable support for his campaign. A group of students from St. Patrick's college have voluntarily organized a door-to-door campaign in an area due to be expropriated, and some NDPers are doing the same in the Primrose Avenue district, scene of a series of tenant struggles in the past year. Porter has speaking engagements every night until the election, and has received extensive radio and television coverage.

The key issues in the LSA campaign are housing and Vietnam. The housing crisis has hit Ottawa particularly hard, with construction running one to two thousand units below the needs of the city every year. Rents have doubled since the last election, and the apartment vacancy-rate is the lowest in Canada, at 1.3 percent. Despite this, city hall has made only token efforts to provide public housing: even if every family now in public housing were to move out immediately, there would not be enough units for those on the waiting lists. And the so-called "low-rent" housing owned by the city is too expensive for many Ottawans: in one project, reserved primarily for pensioners, many tenants are paying over half of their income for rent.

The LSA calls for a massive program of public housing, under tenant control, with



**DAVID PORTER, Ottawa mayoralty candidate.**

rents restricted to a maximum of twenty percent of income. Fogarty, the main contender for the mayoralty, has not even mentioned housing.

Supporters of the Porter campaign took part in the November 15 Vietnam demonstration with a banner reading Vote Against the War — Porter for Mayor. At every meeting, the LSA candidate has demanded that the city officially call for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and for an end to Canada's complicity.

The spirit of the socialist campaigners is excellent: it is summed up in David Porter's reply to a television newsman who asked what the LSA would do if it lost the election: "Whether we win or lose, we win. We're in this campaign to provide a labor alternative: we've done that. We're in it to publicize socialist ideas: we've done that. We're in it to build a movement which can transform Canadian society: we're doing that."

Class politics vs. 'community control'

# The meaning of 'Labor to Power'

by Dick Fidler

Participatory democracy. Confrontation politics. Industrial democracy. Community control.

Different terms, and somewhat differing concepts. But together they reflect a common feeling — the disillusionment of growing numbers of people in this society with the traditional institutions of government, the city councils, legislatures, parliament; a growing sense of alienation from the decision-making processes; a profound distrust of big business politics and power.

It is not just a concern about the way decisions are made and who makes them. It reflects a deep-felt desire for fundamental change in this society — even the possibility of revolutionary change.

So widespread is this popular distrust with unrepresentative government that the big business politicians have felt obliged to cater to it. Prime Minister Trudeau made "participatory democracy" his election slogan — although once elected with a solid majority, he reverted to calling it "mob rule." And in the current Toronto election campaign, both the Tory and Liberal mayoralty candidates have built themes around what they call "citizen participation." Their concept of "community control" involves such proposals as using public funds to help ratepayers' groups fight unpopular decisions by city council on planning and rezoning, or the creation of municipal ombudsmen — to protect the citizens against the decisions of the very officials selected by the parliamentary process!

Their demagogic rhetoric is echoed by self-styled "reformers" like John Sewell, a young lawyer who is running for alderman in a Toronto working class ward. Sewell is the self-proclaimed spokesman of what he terms "the new politics," the essence of which, he says, is that "people directly affected by government action . . . participate in making the decisions involved." He has no program; his "one campaign promise," as he boasts, is to organize people in his ward "so people can start getting what they want for their areas." He will give people a "voice on city council."

But the trouble with city hall is not that the community is not listened to, but that it is controlled completely by the political representatives of the capitalist class which rules this country. Everything this class does is motivated by one consideration — the preservation and extension of the private profit system. Any thoroughgoing program for fundamental social change must start from a clear recognition of the necessity to aim at replacing capitalist class rule with the rule of the working class — the only class in this society which has no stake in the maintenance of the capitalist system. It must aim to establish socialism. There is no third way, no

middle road.

In Canada, the New Democratic Party, as the party of the trade union movement, represents an important first step in breaking the working class from its political subservience to the capitalist parties. The formation of the NDP marked the end of attempts by liberal reformists to forge an alliance with sections of the bourgeoisie through such formulas as the discredited Liberal-labor alliance. Although the NDP's program has remained reformist to the core, the radical significance of the party derives from its organizational independence of the bourgeoisie.

"Community control" advocates like John Sewell reject the NDP and working class political action, however, on the grounds that they must represent "the whole community." This attitude assumes a basic harmony of interests in society which will work if only all groups of people, regardless of their wealth, of how much and what they own, are able to make their views known. But what really defines the character of any society is what divides people — their social contradictions, the class antagonisms. Instead of organizing around a program and slate of candidates capable of taking over the municipal administration, and thereby reversing the relationship of class forces at city hall, the community control addicts see the solution to big business domination of the city in terms of decentralizing the municipal power structure.

This is the classic New Left concept that inspired so many ill-fated projects in the

past. Many young people, newly radicalized by the U.S. black struggle or the anti-war movement in the early years of this decade, turned their backs to the organized working class as an agent of social change, and instead chose to devote their efforts to organizing communities of "the poor and dispossessed." All such community organizing ventures, however well-intentioned, were doomed to failure insofar as they were diversions from the struggle to change the relationship of class forces, to put the working class in power.

There is nothing surprising about this. Fredrick Engels attacked these concepts almost 100 years ago in his book *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, when he made a withering critique of the attempts of socialists

like Robert Owen to create model communistic communities without attacking the class basis of the state. The liberal illusions that underly all such community organizing projects make them prime targets for government attempts to coopt the movement, just as the Pearson government destroyed the Student Union for Peace Action by creating the Company of Young Canadians, buying off the movement with government funds.

Independents like John Sewell are sitting ducks for class-compromise solutions. Sewell offers no program. The mandate he seeks is completely open-ended. If elected, he would be committed to no one and nothing. Could there be anything more contemptuous of the will of the very people he purports to represent than this shallow appeal to their credulity?

When history repeats itself, it seldom innovates. Only a few years ago another "independent" reformer, June Marks contested Sewell's ward and won on a similar campaign of exposing slum landlords while refraining from presenting any alternative program. Once in office, after a few desultory sallies at particularly notorious developers and real estate speculators, Mrs. Marks settled down to the more normal, if rather ineffective routine of ward-healing politics. Today she is indistinguishable from the other discredited politicians of city hall's "old guard."

How many experiences like this must we go through before the hard lesson is learned: that it is through working class, labor, political action around a socialist program — and not through meandering in the thickets of nonclass politics — that the growing movement of popular dissent must progress if it is to achieve its true goals. Only by smashing the political and economic power of the capitalist state can the working people truly gain control of their "community."



**DICK FIDLER is running as socialist candidate for alderman against John Sewell in Toronto's Ward 7.**



# Left in NDP plans future activity

The housekeeping committee established by the left caucus at the recent NDP federal convention met on the Nov. 15-16 weekend and mapped plans to create left groups within the party at the provincial and municipal levels, Melville Watkins told the St. George NDP riding association last week.

The spokesman for the sizeable group of delegates who supported the manifesto For an Independent Socialist Canada, said that a national conference of the left in the NDP will be held next spring. The left is planning now for the October, 1970 convention of the Ontario NDP. A series of speeches and seminars are being organized on Ontario campuses to protest the Americanization of universities.

Watkins said that in his opinion, the main achievement of the Winnipeg convention was that because the NDP had adopted a program which made it the sole party for Canadian nationalists, it had emerged more "credible" to both the right and the left in Canada. He

attributed the changes in party policy to the organized efforts of the left. "The purpose of these efforts," he said, was "to define a left group as the basis for building a left movement."

With Watkins on the platform was Ontario NDP provincial secretary John Harney, a supporter of the right and touted as a potential federal leadership candidate. Harney claimed that one of the convention's main achievements had been to make politics rather than personalities the "focus" of Canadian politics. He cynically dismissed the growing left challenge registered at Winnipeg with the revealing comment, "It is what the party says and does that matters." Harney made it clear that the leadership does not feel bound by convention decisions.

Both Harney and Terry Morley, executive assistant to Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald, attacked the left grouping's plans to build a continuing left, insinuating that it was an attempt to "build a party within the party."

Several people commented from the floor that they saw nothing wrong with such groups in the party, that they were greatly encouraged by this re-vitalizing activity in the NDP.

Asked where he stood on nationalization in contrast to the present leadership, Watkins said that the difference between him and David Lewis was that Lewis saw nationalization as one of many tools of socialist economic policy, while he saw it as the key instrument.

# Defeat of Simon Fraser strike shows need for off-campus aid

VANCOUVER — The striking faculty and students at Simon Fraser University (SFU) called off the strike of the Political Science and Anthropology Department (PSA) in early November. The weight of a blanket "anti-disruption" injunction broke the remaining support for picketing and rallies aimed at winning new support for the strike.

Since the calling off of the strike, three of the suspended faculty members have dropped their appeals against the administration. The administration is proceeding to get rid of them and five other suspended faculty. They have not been permitted to resume teaching responsibilities. Many of their courses have been canceled or taken over by other professors.

The SFU administration is also proceeding with a damage suit against 14 strike activists named in the B.C. Supreme Court injunction.

The combined assault of the Strand administration, the Social Credit government and the courts has again scored a defeat

against the student movement for university democratization. Coming on the heels of the SFU 114 fiasco the PSA defeat calls for a vigorous and thorough discussion within the student movement. Important lessons can be learned from these twin defeats.

Most importantly, the radical leadership on SFU campus has yet to learn how to conduct a defensive struggle; to turn the struggle and the issues towards the whole student body; and to reach out into the broader social arena off campus for allies and support. Similar problems were encountered in the case of the SFU 114.

Three of the 114 who pleaded not guilty have had their cases dismissed. One, Mike Jones, organizer of the Vancouver Young Socialists, was found guilty and is now appealing. But the majority, over a hundred youths, have faced the victimization of stiff fines and some will serve jail sentences. The movement cannot go forward unless it is prepared to carry a consistent fight against such repression.

# Students challenge Nfld's Smallwood



**SEIG HEIL TO JOEY.** Newfoundland Liberals' recent convention was scene of many protests as trade unionists picketed outside and, inside, dissident students (above) showed what they thought of the way Premier Joey Smallwood runs the province. Memorial University students held an all-day moratorium the day the convention opened, and 2,000 attended a teach-in on Newfoundland's problems. Leaflet advertis-

ing teach-in asked: "Even if leadership is transferred in the Liberal convention, will anything change? Or will the rich get richer while the poor become destitute? How long can we support the Lundrigans, Shaheens and Doyles in the manner to which they have become accustomed?" On Nov. 6, 5,000 students marched on St. John's Confederation Building in anti-Smallwood demonstration.



# Student strike slated to protest Bill 63

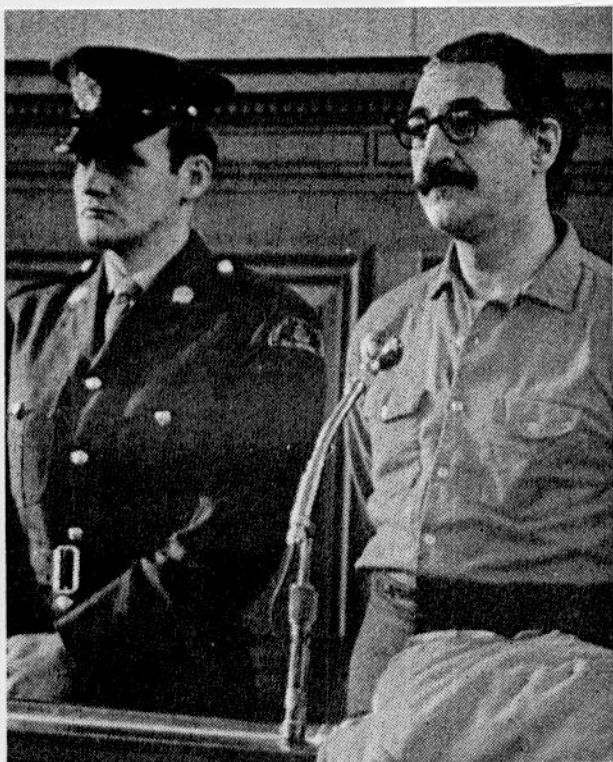
With the passage in the National Assembly on Nov. 20 of Bill 63, which legalizes English privileges in the school system, the Front du Québec Français has commenced the second stage of its actions to defend the French language, leaders of the FQF have announced. The FQF represents presently about a million Québécois in the 205 associations which have adhered to it.

The next stage of the FQF's struggle for French unilingualism will revolve around an extensive program aimed at publicizing its counter-Bill 63, which it calls Quebec Draft Law No. 1. The bill, adopted early in November in a mass assembly held at the University of Montreal, provides for a policy of French unilingualism throughout Que-

bec. Among its features is a passage providing that "no applicant will be refused a job on the grounds that he speaks only French."

The FQF plans to hold a Quebec-wide referendum on its bill in early January, 1970. Only French-speaking Québécois will be entitled to vote.

Meanwhile, the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire, which has led the struggle for a French-only school system, has called for a "moratorium" in all Quebec high schools, junior colleges and universities on Dec. 5 to protest the passage of Bill 63. Plans include a march on the Quebec parliament, demonstrations in several other centers, and a mass student strike involving, it is hoped, up to 200,000 students.



**FREE QUEBEC?** Michel Chartrand, Montreal trade union leader, stands in prisoner's box. Charged with sedition by Quebec government, Chartrand's bail was suspended and he was jailed for five days — for calling Quebec justice "an extraordinary farce."

# Unions to defy law banning marches

Montreal trade unions are planning to demonstrate Nov. 29 during the Grey Cup parade to protest the city council's anti-democratic bylaw banning political demonstrations and meetings. The march has been called by the 67,000-member Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and is supported by the Quebec Federation of Labor and the Quebec Teachers Union.

The bylaw, passed Nov. 12, prohibits any meeting, march or gathering in a public place that endangers "public tranquility, peace or order." It also provides that any demonstration or meeting can be banned in advance by the city's executive committee on the recommendation of the police chief or city solicitor.

Claire Dupont, a member of the Vallières-Gagnon Defense Committee, has already petitioned in court to have the bylaw declared unconstitutional.

Federal Justice Minister John Turner concedes that the government has the power to challenge the bylaw's constitutionality in the courts on its own initiative. But his government has not even criticized the bill. All parties in the Quebec National Assembly, and René Lévesque, leader of the Parti Québécois, support the bylaw.

On November 15, Montreal cops acting under the bylaw broke up a small picket line organized by the QFL at three Dominion stores to protest the sale of California grapes. Among the demonstrators was QFL president Louis Laberge.

# Why the Vietnam atrocities

by Carl Fleming

The crimes committed by the United States in Vietnam have been exposed time and again by the anti-war movement. But public opinion has never been so outraged as by the latest revelation — the massacre of what some reports estimate as close to 700 Vietnamese civilians at Songmy, South Vietnam, also known as Mylai and code-named "Pinkville" by the U.S. forces.

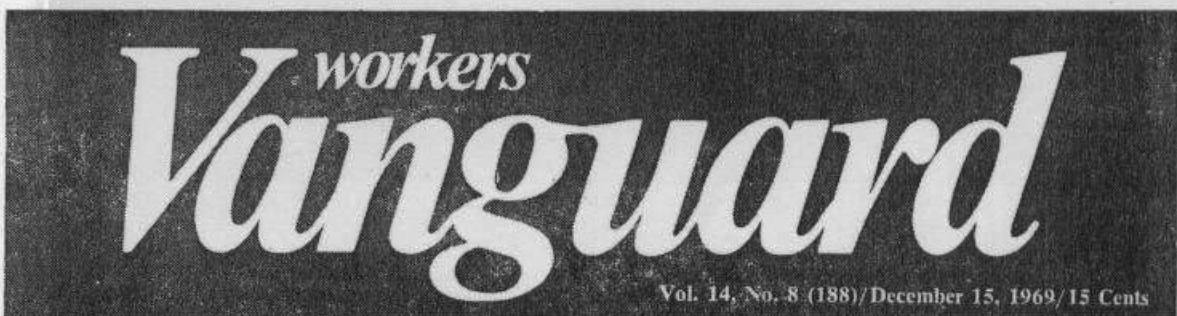
News reports out of Saigon in March 1968 reported that "American forces encountered the enemy near Quangngai city and killed 128 Vietcong." There were rumours of civilian deaths, but apparently the real facts were effectively covered up, and it was not until this November that a former GI wrote letters to congressmen telling what he had seen at Songmy.

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**Tax profits, not people!** page 3

**Decline of the Maoists** page 4



# LSA led campaign for labor gov't

## A first for Ottawa

by Ian Angus

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This vote is all the more impressive when the difficulties faced by the socialist campaign are considered. The LSA has only existed in Ottawa for nine months, and its support prior to this campaign has tended to come from young people, most of whom are not allowed to vote. As well, the LSA's candidate had to work a regular forty-hour week, while the business candidates devoted full time to their campaigns. The socialist campaign was run on a shoestring, compared to the \$20,000 or more spent by many candidates.

In addition, Porter faced hostility from the press. A particularly vicious and underhanded attack on Porter's campaign was that of the *Ottawa Citizen*, which repeatedly described Porter as a "national socialist," and, in a special supplement on the candidates, stated that Porter didn't believe that Canadians would ever accept socialism voluntarily, and that socialism would have to be imposed on the majority by minority violence. Needless to say, the LSA repudiated these claims, and forced the *Citizen* to print a letter from Porter setting the record straight.

Despite lack of funds and the hostility of the press, however, the campaign reached large numbers of people new to socialist ideas. Porter spoke to meetings involving a total of over 2000 people, appeared on half a dozen radio and television programs, and received extensive, if not objective, press coverage.

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JOAN NEWBIGGING, LSA aldermanic candidate, addresses demonstrators outside Toronto's city hall protesting discrimination against women employees of the city.

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One indication of the impact of the campaign on the campuses was the group of twenty students from St. Patrick's College, a small campus with no history of radical activity, who organized a door-to-door campaign for Porter in the central Glebe, an area faced with expropriation.

Two major issues dominated the socialist campaign. One was the need for a labor administration to drive the businessmen out of city hall. The extent of big business control of municipal politics was revealed during the campaign when a radio news commentator forced five of the candidates for Board of Control to admit that they received heavy campaign contributions from real estate developers, contributions running into thousands of dollars each.

A number of the candidates even admitted that real estate firms had attempted to bribe them to support specific zoning changes. This issue is particularly significant in Ottawa, where the planning board is continually overruled by Board of Control's eagerness not to interfere with the plans of developers.

The day after this revelation was made, Porter shocked an election audience in the posh Alta Vista district by demanding that any firm attempting to bribe a municipal candidate be immediately expropriated without compensation.

"But that won't solve the problem," he said. "The real problem is that City Hall is run by men who are businessmen or who are supporters of business. The only real solution is a labor government in city hall — an NDP government."

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(See page 6)



# Genocide in U.S. norm in Vietnam



**NAPALM DROP.** Thousands of Vietnamese have been permanently disfigured or burned to death by U.S. napalm, a jellied gasoline compound which sticks to the skin and ignites on contact. This is just one of the many gruesome weapons U.S. has experimented with against Vietnamese population.

## Why the Vietnam atrocities

by Carl Fleming

The crimes committed by the United States in Vietnam have been exposed time and again by the anti-war movement. But public opinion has never been so outraged as by the latest revelation — the massacre of what some reports estimate as close to 700 Vietnamese civilians at Songmy, South Vietnam, also known as Mylai and code-named "Pinkville" by the U.S. forces.

News reports out of Saigon in March 1968 reported that "American forces encountered the enemy near Quangngai city and killed 128 Vietcong." There were rumours of civilian deaths, but apparently the real facts were effectively covered up, and it was not until this November that a former GI wrote letters to congressmen telling what he had seen at Songmy.

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(continued from page 1)

According to interviews given by a number of American GIs who were there, they were ordered by Captain "Mad Dog" Medina to "destroy Mylai and everything in it."

Paul Meadlo, 22-year-old U.S. army veteran admitted that he had taken part in the massacre. "So we stood about 10 or 15 feet away from them and then he (Lieutenant William L. Calley) started shooting them. Then he told me to start shooting them. . . I started to shoot them, but the other guys wouldn't do it."

One of the few survivors of the mass killing told her story to newsmen:

"They ordered us out of our houses. Everyone — old men, children, women and

babies. They marched us a few hundred meters and told us to squat down. . .

"All the Americans had rifles. They set up one gun with legs that I had never seen before. Now the people were crying and begging. One monk showed his identification papers, but the American just said, 'sorry.'"

"Then the shooting started. I was wounded in the leg. I was covered by dead bodies but I dared not move. . ."

The truth of what really happened at Songmy was covered up for a year and a half. And when the facts did come out, the press and military have tried to explain that this is just one ghastly incident in a war that has been carried out with "honor" and "restraint."

But are the saturation bombings of populated areas, the use of poison gas, and the destruction of crops and water supplies any more "humane" or "civilized" than the butchery at Songmy? Two years ago the International War Crimes Tribunal revealed a multitude of cases which amount to genocide practised by the U.S. against the Vietnamese people. Allegations have recently been made that as many as 1,200 Vietnamese villagers were drowned by U.S. forces near Songmy last March. Other tales of horror reach the press daily.

Why is the war so brutal? Before 1939 there was a distinction (at least in wars between the white European powers) between civilians and soldiers. There were standards for treatment of prisoners and citizens in occupied areas. But as the antagonisms within



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capitalism become more and more pronounced, it can no longer retain these "civilized" standards.

Songmy has been compared to Oradour-sur-Glane in northern France, where German troops shot the men and burned women and children alive in the church during World War II. The cries of the victims of Songmy were the same cries as the victims of Hitler's concentration camps, the people who died from the Allied firebombing of Dresden, and the thousands who were killed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As one reporter noted, "Songmy was compared with Lidice, the Czech village destroyed by the Germans in a 1942 reprisal. But at Lidice the Nazis spared the women and children."

Songmy is an expression of the norms of this society. The racism, violence, anti-communism, and super-patriotism of modern capitalism find their logical conclusion with the gunmen of Songmy. "To us they were no civilians," said Varnado Simpson, one of the American GIs. "They were VC sympathizers. You don't call them civilians. To us they were VC. They showed no ways or means that they wasn't."

Vietnam is a colonial war. But it is also a revolutionary war. The Vietnamese are united and determined to free their country from foreign domination, to remove it from the sphere of imperialist exploitation. To the rulers of the U.S., the enemy is therefore the Vietnamese people. There is no distinction between soldier and civilian in such a war. If the revolution cannot be defeated, then the people must be destroyed. No standards of bourgeois civility apply here. How can such a war be anything but genocidal?

The struggle of the Vietnamese is the struggle for socialism, the only way to rid the world of more Songmys and world destruction. And the rulers of the United States know that a victory to the Vietnamese would mean new hope for oppressed people around the world. The real murderers of Songmy are the rulers of capitalist society, who would rather destroy the world than see their reign challenged.

We have not heard the last of Songmy. Bertrand Russell has called for an international tribunal to investigate the massacre. Prominent individuals throughout the world, including the University of Toronto Law Faculty and representatives of eight law and political science faculties across Canada have issued similar calls. But such a tribunal must do more than just determine the guilt or innocence of a few miserable trigger-men. It must assess the entire role of the U.S. in

Vietnam, and explain how such events can and do happen in the twentieth century.

"I gave them my son," said the mother of one of the Songmy GIs. "And they sent me back a murderer." But he was in fact only a wretched trigger-man in this grisly event. The real murderers are the "they" who use her son, along with thousands more, to defend their perfidious interests around the world.

## U.K. gov't urges Nixon further

The reaction to the massacre at My Lai has not deterred in the least the enthusiastic support that Britain's ruling Labor party gives to the American aggression against the Vietnamese. Giving his best imitation of Winston Churchill to date, deputy leader George Brown said, "I wish the Americans would stop weeping. They have taken over a role that Britain has played so long. And we played it tough and strong. Why don't the Americans get in and finish the job?"

Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart backed up Brown's statement. "When men engage in war, they are brutalized, but you cannot say that because atrocities are committed on one side that therefore the whole cause for which that side is struggling is wrong. . ."

These cynical remarks show how completely committed the Labor leaders are to their role of administering capitalism. They seem determined to serve imperialism's interests, through whatever muck and gore they might lead.

The New Democratic Party has fraternal ties with the Labor Party through the discredited Second International. If the NDP's anti-war position is to have any credibility at all, it must immediately dissociate itself from the scandalous behavior of the Labor government.

The majority of Labor backbenchers are expected to support a motion to dissociate Britain from U.S. policy in Vietnam. But Harold Wilson, George Brown, Michael Stewart et al. have nothing to worry about — the Tories will back them up.

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# workers Vanguard

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# Porter campaign

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ation, which meant that they were not offering an alternative to the people of the city in any serious sense. One of the NDP aldermanic candidates was elected, and already pressure is mounting for a full-scale campaign next time.

The other major issue in the campaign was housing. The housing crisis has been particularly severe in Ottawa, with rents doubling in the past three years, and new housing starts running consistently over 1000 below the city's estimated needs. One result of this has been a fall in the apartment vacancy rate, from nearly nine percent in 1965 to barely one percent this year.

The LSA's program demanded that the city go full scale into the housing business, to cut the ground out from under the developers, who are purposely restricting the number of units built in order to keep rents up. The rents on city-owned housing should be restricted to a maximum of twenty percent of income. As interim measures, the LSA proposed an elected rent control board, and strict enforcement of the housing standards bylaw, which has only been used twice since it was passed three years ago.

Significantly, the strongest support for the socialist campaign came from the three downtown working class wards where the housing crisis has been the most severe. In Dalhousie and Wellington ward, Porter received about four-and-a-half percent of the vote, and in Capital ward he received 4.8 percent, standing third. Across the city the LSA received 3.3 percent of the vote.

Another issue which emerged during the campaign and which has continued to be raised since was a proposal by one of the candidates for Board of Control, Murray Heit, to impose a fee on those running for office, "to eliminate candidates like the one we just heard." The candidate referred to was David Porter. Porter drew headlines for his denunciation of Heit's proposal as an attempt to restrict elections to the few who are backed by big business. He was supported in this by Mac Lipson, a popular radio phone-in show host, who denounced Heit's proposal as "fascistic."

Heit was defeated in the election, but others have taken up his proposal. One alderman, supported by the *Citizen*, is proposing that candidates be required to file petitions bearing the signatures of a number of electors.

The root of the unease of the Establishment on this question lies in the fact that all four of the opponents of the "official" candidate, Fogarty, were "nuisance" candidates, that is, they didn't have business support. If these people hadn't run, Fogarty would have had a free ride home. What the proponents of such anti-democratic legislation carefully ignore is the fact that almost one-quarter of the voters voted for the "nuisance" candidates, surely a repudiation by a large body of voters of the type of administration which has dominated Ottawa city politics.

However, as Porter said in reply to Heit, "Deposit or no deposit, Mr. Heit, we'll be back next time."



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#188 Dec 1969

## Big impact in Toronto

by John Riddell  
LSA Toronto Mayoralty Candidate

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Sunday morning, Nov. 30 picketed upper-crust Timothy Eaton Memorial Church, demanding taxation of the churches, private schools and other tax-exempt properties.

Aldermanic candidate Joan Newbigging was the main speaker at a protest organized by Toronto's New Feminists against a particularly scandalous case of wage discrimination against women. Candidates spoke at four major actions against the war in Vietnam. The Young Socialists candidates for board of education went to schools and campuses across the city. When meetings could not be organized inside they were held in the streets outside the schools, attracting in one case an audience of nearly 500.

But the socialist campaign did not have the resources or the mass base that could have made up for the NDP slate's damaging weaknesses. The NDP's failure to present a mayoralty candidate, as its own left wing had warned, prevented it from presenting its alternative on the level where publicity and public attention was concentrated. It was Stephen Clarkson, Liberal mayoralty candidate, who thereby became the most prominent advocate of party politics. No focus existed around which the NDP can-

## advance into the '70s with a labor-socialist civic govt



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NEWBIGGING  
FIDLER

ward 2  
ward 5  
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ward 2  
ward 3

YOUNG  
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ward 5  
ward 7  
ward 8

League for Socialist Action Young Socialists 1 Cumberland St. Toronto  
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6/Vanguard/December 15, 1969

didates could have become identified as a common team, an alternative government.

The NDP's leaflets presented a series of essential, if limited reforms, and spoke of "NDP teamwork" at city hall. But they did not explain and condemn the city's big business administration at city hall, or call for a new civic government, even after bourgeois mayoralty candidates Margaret Campbell and Stephen Clarkson had, in their own way, made this the theme of their campaign. NDP candidates usually presented themselves in the old ward-heeling tradition as representatives of their little community, rather than as part of a movement representing the working people across the entire city in the quest for power at city hall.

But if NDP gains were modest, the attempt of capitalist political machines to present a "reform" alternative failed utterly. The Liberal Party went down to crushing defeat. It elected only one alderman in addition to one incumbent identified with its slate, and its mayoralty candidate Clarkson managed only 20 percent of the vote.

Margaret Campbell, a Tory and long-time accomplice in the city regime, talked of citizen participation and the need for a

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## ...Toronto socialists fielded broad slate

(continued from page 1)

reform coalition. Yet her vote scarcely escaped from the traditional affluent Tory strongholds.

Thus despite the widely expressed protest against the old regime, and the defeat of a third of the outgoing city council, the majority of voters saw no real alternative. The percentage of abstentions rose to almost two-thirds. Despite his status-quo program and openly revealed ties to Tory and big business interests, Mayor Dennison maintained his traditional working-class voting base. Workers were unready to throw out this man who was at least nominally an NDPer, whose past at least was in the labor movement, for an old-line Liberal or Tory.

The League for Socialist Action's mayoralty candidate polled 2,400 votes, 1.5 percent of the total — a modest but significant vote, concentrated mainly in student and working-class areas where the NDP vote was also strong. Others on the LSA-YS ticket received up to 8.3 percent of the vote, which must be reckoned as representing around 15 percent of those voting, each of whom has two votes.

The "reform coalition" that finally gathered in the backrooms of City Hall after the election appeared to be united by no political agreement whatsoever other than the desire of the "outs" among bourgeois politicians to grab power on the new council. The NDP aldermen along with independent John Sewell were reported to have participated in this cabal, over the muffled protests of Karl Jaffary, and were rewarded by their exclusion from the executive council it elected. Even their token gesture of voting for an NDPer on the first ballot didn't come off; Archie Chisholm broke ranks to vote for one of the most discredited of old line politicians.

Meanwhile the struggles for tenants rights for massive public housing, for citizens control of the police, for taxation of the rich for the other themes of our socialist campaign will continue, and develop, and can be counted on to take to the streets in mass mobilizations when frustrated by city hall.

The LSA and YS campaign was a massive educational effort to lay the groundwork for success in these approaching struggles. And for us, the movement to break the power of big business is a year-round affair. The socialist campaign is continuing, and coming years should see important strides towards its goal of a labor-socialist government.

## B.C. Democrat is axed in 'economy drive'

VANCOUVER — The *B.C. Democrat*, official monthly paper of the B.C. NDP, has announced that this month's issue is its last. The mounting provincial NDP debt forced suspension of *The Democrat* "as an economy measure." The NDP provincial council also let go two organizers and will keep only a minimal staff to carry out routine office administration.

The decision to cut back drastically party spending indicates the full degree of despair the provincial NDP leadership is in. Much of the debt is internal, owned to the provincial office by the constituency organizations. These units, which once carried out a thriving program of activities and fund raising activities have, over the years, been reduced to electoral machines. The political life of the local organizations has withered.

The *B.C. Democrat*, far from being a political paper, became a house organ concerned almost exclusively with organizational matters. All around the NDP — from tenants' organizations to students struggles — people have been radicalizing. But the editors of *The Democrat* remained aloof from such struggles.

The decision to cease publication of an NDP newspaper will hardly improve the party's hopes to regain support and initiative. Rather, it reinforces the lack of perspective of the party leadership.

The way out for the NDP is to begin to take some initiative and offer some leadership to the everyday struggles of working people and the youth; and to publish a paper which will take up and reflect the demands and interests of these forces.

## Expulsions threatened

Four leading members of the York Center (Toronto area) NDP riding association are threatened with expulsion from the party. They have been summoned to a committee hearing of the provincial executive on the basis of a number of "charges" submitted by R. Clifton, the riding association president.

The charges include the claim that one of the accused sent out a circular inviting NDPers to join a Vietnam demonstration (the demonstration was endorsed by the membership), and that at least one member

## cross country with the NDP

of the riding was invited to hear a talk by the managing editor of the *Vanguard* at the home of another member! These charges were never brought before the membership.

The threatened members are Anna Wilkie, Bea Bryant, and Archie McGugan. The fourth, Helen Cowan, no longer lives in the riding. In a letter they have sent to the presidents of NDP riding associations in the Toronto area, the first three above-named note they have served on the executive and as delegates to conventions, etc., for as long as eight years.

"We feel that the charges are completely irrelevant," they state. "Mr. Clifton must be asked to present proof that we have harmed the party by our actions. The hearing committee must demand this and judge us solely on this basis thus establishing once and for all that no ideas are suspect in the NDP and that only actions detrimental to the party may be condemned. . . . A McCarthyite witch hunt condoned or allowed to develop by the NDP is impermissible."

If they have been "delinquent" in their duty toward the NDP, the accused members state, it is only by refusing to speak up loudly and clearly against the attempts by some executive members to ignore such membership decisions as to support an antiwar rally and a boycott-California grapes protest.

The neighboring York North riding association has passed overwhelmingly a motion "that we object to expulsions from the New Democratic Party on the basis that some members have ideas not shared by all other members; such expulsions can only have deleterious effects on the New Democratic Party."

The December 6 meeting of the NDP executive decided to postpone the hearing until its January meeting.

The accused members are asking NDP members to raise the matter in their riding associations, and send motions similar to the above to the provincial executive, 11½ Spadina Rd., Toronto, and a copy to B. Bryant, 408 Osiris Dr., Richmond Hill.



# Pickets focus on civic issues

A distinguishing feature of the socialists' campaign in the recent Toronto civic election was the way that candidates of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists employed non-electoral means to put across their election program. Here are a few incidents to round out the coverage in our last issue.

## Tax the churches!

Parishioners at Toronto's elite church, the Timothy Eaton Memorial, were greeted by a picket line of Riddell campaign supporters when they arrived for the 11 a.m. service on November 30. The picket focussed attention on the gross injustice whereby the tenants and small homeowners suffer an unbearable and rising tax burden while privileged sectors such as churches, private schools and yacht clubs remained largely or wholly tax exempt.

One placard pointed out that the elite male-only school, Upper Canada College, alone robbed the city of \$300,000 a year in tax revenue. The pickets called for the churches to rise to their social responsibilities, and one placard, putting it in the language of the church, asked them to "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's."

## Equality for women!

One day near the end of the campaign the New Feminists demonstrated outside city hall to demand that the civic administration end its policy of discriminating against women civic employees in wages, promotions and job classification. In particular, the pickets protested the recent action of metro council in initiating legal action to block a provincial order enforcing equal work for

equal wages for women employees at the municipally-owned and operated Greenacres Home for the Aged.

When the demonstrating women marched into city hall they were forcibly ejected by guards from the metro chairman's outer office.

The main speaker at the rally, Joan Newbigging, LSA aldermanic candidate and a member of the New Feminists, stressed that the Greenacres case was not an accident but a logical part of the city administration's consistent policy.

"The only unusual thing about the Greenacres case," she said "is that the women were able to cut across this phony-job classification and establish that they were doing the same work as the men. The thousands of other women employees of the city have not yet established this and as a result are paid considerably less than men employees. We have to throw out this administration which prides itself in running 'the Corporation of the City of Toronto' like a big business; we need a labor administration which will meet the demands of city employees, which will end job discrimination against women."

The demonstration made the front pages of all three daily newspapers.

## Candidates tested

The socialist campaign windup on Saturday, November 29, was a big success. Many of the 100 or so people who attended the event had become interested in socialist politics during the course of the campaign. A highlight of the evening was a dramatic reenactment of important and humorous incidents in the campaign, with an audience of skilled hecklers who really tested the candidates' mettle. The candidate came through this difficult test with flying colors.



# Left caucus formed in Alta. NDP

by Our Correspondent

EDMONTON — The Alberta NDP convention, which met here Nov. 22-23, just three weeks after the historic federal convention in Winnipeg, saw the formation of a province-wide left which won the support of about 30 percent of the delegates and decided to continue its activities in the post-convention period.

Between 45 and 55 of the 169 registered delegates attended each of the three caucus meetings at the two-day convention, even though this meant going without lunch in one instance. The caucus discussed four major topics: program, convention strategy and tactics, presentation of a slate of candidates for the party executive, and provisions for building a continuing left. Its temporary steering committee at the convention was comprised of Ken Novakowski, Bob Holoch, and Mark Johnston.

The caucus organized around a somewhat modified version of the "Waffle" or "Watkins" manifesto, entitled Statement of Principles and Program.

The statement replies to T. C. Douglas' slander at Winnipeg. "When we say 'public ownership,' we are not talking about nationalizing the farmer's barn or even taking over the corner grocery store. Quite the contrary, we are referring to major industries such as mining, oil and gas, finance and banking, and communications" which "exercise an enormous amount of control over social and political, as well as purely economic, conditions of Canadian life."

The Alberta statement comes down

clearly in support of self-determination for Quebec and calls for active support by the NDP of "the just struggles of Canada's native peoples on their own terms."

Just as the Watkins manifesto said the NDP "must be seen as the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change" the Alberta statement advocates that the NDP "must become more than a mere parliamentarist organization. The NDP must become involved, on a day-to-day basis, with issues of concern to the community. The party must involve itself in the struggle of welfare recipients and tenants' organizations. It must manifest its opposition to the Vietnam war by participating in demonstrations and moratoriums. It must concern itself actively with the students' fight for democratization of their universities, technical schools and high schools. . . It is our conviction that election campaigns should be run in such a manner as to insure that the NDP, when victorious, has a real mandate for social change."

The Alberta statement also demands: "The party must react to every redbaiting attack by loudly reaffirming its dedication to socialism! To every right wing charge that the NDP is a tool of the labor movement, the party must proudly proclaim its working class base!"

The caucus had a strong influence on the policy debates. As a result of its efforts, the convention adopted the original Waffle universities resolution tabled at Winnipeg. Its effect is to call for transforming universities and other "institutions of higher learn-

ing" into arenas for class struggle.

The convention unanimously passed an emergency resolution submitted by the caucus calling on the party to "actively participate" in antiwar demonstrations.

One of the most inspiring moments of the convention occurred when a motion to put five women on the provincial council won majority support, but both hand votes and standing votes failed to determine if it was the required two-thirds majority. The chairman finally instructed the delegates to march in front of the platform to register their votes. The vote, counted in this way, took on the aura of a spirited march for women's liberation. The women narrowly lost this time.

The left caucus ran a full slate minus candidates for the two top positions. Of the three elected, two also appeared on the "official" slate, and the third, the youth representative, was uncontested by the right. The other eight candidates received between one-quarter and one-third of the vote.

At the final caucus meeting, a provincial steering committee of nine members was elected to coordinate caucus activities in Alberta. Among proposals it will consider are: holding a Western regional left conference in the early spring prior to the national left conference; and publishing an Alberta newsletter, which would contain both caucus and other party news, because of the lack of any provincial party paper. The caucus is planning to organize local left groups in Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge and Red Deer, and possibly other communities.

## 2,000 renounce U.S. alliances at U of A teach-in

by Mark Priegert

EDMONTON — Prof. Robin Mathews attacked student activists at the teach-in on American Domination of Canada, held here Nov. 24-25. Mathews, who has become famous for his exposures of discrimination against Canadians in the hiring of university staff and the lack of Canadian studies and material on "the Canadian fact," said:

"... In the student realm, we are asked again and again to believe, by activists, that we are all fighting the military industrial

complex and great corporate dehumanized capitalism, and so the battle of the Canadian student is the same as that of the American student. I am sorry. That is a falsehood."

Mathews' proposed defense against U.S. domination of the university was a system of quotas on foreign professors.

Mordecai Briemberg, chairman of Simon Fraser University's PSA department, replied to Mathews' retreat into vulgar and idealistic nationalism:

"If we rely on Canadian citizenship as a defense line, we rely on a Maginot Line. We must take the universities out of the hands of the corporate businessmen who are thoroughly integrated with the American corporate structure and put it in the hands of work-

ing people and students who have no interests in common with the American business elite.

"The best defense against American domination is not Canadian citizenship but the democratization of the structure of the university."

The 2,000 students attending the teach-in, which also included panels and discussions on foreign policy, foreign ownership and economic policy, voted overwhelmingly in a straw vote to condemn Canadian possession of nuclear arms, participation in NORAD and NATO, and biological-chemical warfare research, which the government carries on at Suffield, Alta.



# awakening, of the world radicalization of youth'

by Joan Newbigging

The 1960s — a decade of turmoil, of revolutionary awakening, of the worldwide radicalization of youth.

At the start of the decade, only one event gave any indication that the postwar era of virtually unchallenged capitalist supremacy was drawing to a close.

This event — the entry of the Fidelista rebel army into Havana in 1959 — was a dramatic symbol of what lay ahead. The 60s witnessed the rise of revolution in all three sectors of the world — the colonial and neo-colonial world, the workers states and the advanced capitalist countries.

This decade has been dominated above all by the resolute struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. The years following the victory of the Cuban revolution saw a series of defeats in the underdeveloped world — the Dominican Republic, the Congo, Indonesia. The impact of the war in Vietnam has sharply reversed this trend. The example of the Vietnamese peasant armies holding back the powerful U.S. military machine has become an inspiration to the peoples of the "Third World."

By the end of the 60s, the Vietnamese struggle had spread to Laos, Cambodia, Thailand. A massive general strike had rocked Pakistan in 1969. The Indian sub-continent was characterized by profound instability.

In Latin America, despite setbacks like the murder of Che Guevara and the imprisonment of Hugo Blanco, the continuing appearance of guerrilla groups in many countries indicated the growing popularity of the

beyond question, that it is the socialist revolution that is on the agenda for the Third World.

The early years of the decade saw the break-up of the Stalinist monolith through the Sino-Soviet dispute. Rising out of differing evaluations by the Mao and Khrushchev leaderships of the world situation and the problems facing the bureaucracies, the Sino-Soviet dispute has continued to intensify, leading almost to armed conflict in 1969.

In the mid years of the decade rivalries between various wings of the Chinese CP led to the outbreak of the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, unleashing powerful forces across China and causing massive disruption before the Mao faction asserted its ascendancy.

In the closing years of the decade, anti-bureaucratic movements rather than inter-bureaucratic rivalries became the major problem facing the Stalinized bureaucracies.

Most significant was undoubtedly the Czechoslovak struggle for proletarian democracy. This movement, which began with the demand for an end to censorship and proceeded to raise a whole series of far-reaching proposals for workers' democracy, received a severe setback in 1968 with the Soviet invasion.

Voices of dissent appeared in the other workers' states. Antibureaucratic oppositionists in the Soviet Union demonstrated solidarity with Czech socialist democracy, and some raised the cry Back to Lenin — to a return to the revolutionary norms of the early Russian workers state.

Year by year, the ruling classes in the ad-



NDP founding convention, 1961



France, 1968

From the nuclear disarmament movement of the early 60s to the struggles of tenants, women's liberation activists and Canadian Indians today, Canada has experienced a growing tide of protest. The last four years have seen a sustained level of strike activity unparalleled since the postwar upsurge.

The developing militant national struggle of the Québécois has become the most explosive factor on the Canadian political scene. Mass strikes and student struggles continue to rock this nation.

For the English Canadian working class, the major event of the decade was the launching in 1961 of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. Launched with a liberal reformist program and under the firm control of the old CCF and trade union bureaucracies, the NDP has nonetheless year by year strengthened its roots in working class areas. At the 1969 Winnipeg convention a broad left-wing formation was launched within the NDP, injecting a healthy atmosphere of debate and challenge into the party.

This was the decade when Canada's youth made its voice heard. Through the anti-Vietnam war movement, high school protests and student power struggles, Canadian youth in growing numbers are registering their opposition to capitalism, the system that breeds wars, inequalities and alienation. The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the Canadian revolutionary socialist youth movement was founded and has since spread to more than a score of campuses across the country.

Besides the launching of the NDP, 1961 also saw the regrouping of the Trotskyist forces in Canada into the League for Socialist Action and in 1964, in Quebec, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Subsequent years have seen the considerable growth in size and influence of this movement through its consistent work in the anti-Vietnam war movement, the NDP, Quebec and the student milieu.

So went the 60s — a decade when radical-

ism flared up around the world; a decade of preparation — when revolutionaries were tested in struggle. A decade of growing crisis for the old leaderships, Stalinism and social democracy, and the growth of new leaderships. In 1963, the forces of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, reunited and renewed the collective work of coordinating revolutionary activity on an international scale.

Entering the 70s, we can look forward to a decade of revolutionary struggle — a decade when the socialist revolution is on the agenda on a world-wide scale.



Vietnam



Czechoslovakia, 1968

## the 60's the new rise of world revolution

Cuban revolution and its example. The mass student-worker demonstrations in Mexico in 1968 and the general strikes that engulfed Argentina in 1969 were important harbingers of a developing urban struggle.

Since the Six Days War of June '67, the Palestinian Liberation fighters have grown in strength and influence and have raised the perspective of socialist revolution in the Arab world. The 1960s have reaffirmed,



TENANTS' MARCH

vaned capitalist countries have seen their troubles mount. France in May-June 1968 experienced a revolutionary upsurge unparalleled since the postwar years; a general strike bringing industry and commerce throughout the country to a standstill and millions of workers and students into the streets; power within the grasp of the French working class — but not seized because of the reformist politics of the French Communist party. Out of the revolutionary vanguard emerged the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

Italy — shaken by labor struggles culminating in a general strike in November 1969, paralyzing the country.

Britain — the decade of the Wilson administration, of the continuing crisis of social democracy. With a bankruptcy characteristic of all the old workers leaderships in Europe, Wilson sought to salvage British capitalism by slashing the living standards of working people.

The U.S. — the years of the anti-Vietnam war movement, the black struggle and the student revolt; millions of Americans, including growing numbers of GIs marched in the streets, calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. From the anti-segregation struggles in Birmingham in 1963 to the rebellions in Watts in '65, and Newark and Detroit in '67, the black revolt developed in size and militancy. The rebellion of youth which has engulfed campuses across the States, has become increasingly focused around the Young Socialist Alliance, the Trotskyist youth movement. In the 1960s the forces that will destroy American imperialism from within began to emerge.

Throughout the decade Canada has felt the impact of this international ferment.

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